ARCHITECTURE

CALIFORNIA

ARCHITECTURE
CALIFORNIA

EDITOR
Lian Hurst Mann, AIA

EDITORIAL BOARD
Barton Phelps, AIA, Chair
John L. Field, FAIA
W. Mike Martin, AIA
Sigrid Miller Pollin, AIA
Kenneth A. Rodrigues, AIA
William Turnbull, FAIA

DESIGN
The Dunlavey Studio

Architecture California, (ISSN 0738-1131) is published by the California Council, The American Institute of Architects. Single copies are available at $5 from CCAIA. CCAIA is not responsible for statements or opinions expressed in *Architecture California*, nor do such statements necessarily express the view of CCAIA or its committees. Contributors are individually responsible for credits and copyright permissions. Second Class Postage Paid at Sacramento, CA and additional offices. POSTMASTER: send address changes to *Architecture California*, 1303 J Street, Suite 200, Sacramento, CA 95814. Printed on recycled paper by Fruitridge Printing and Lithograph, Inc.
© 1991 by CCAIA.

Cover: Photograph of model from "Corridor: The Highspeed Roadway as Generator of New Urban Form," a design study and exhibition by Barton Phelps, AIA, Los Angeles Municipal Art Gallery. Courtesy of Barton Phelps.

CCAIA
California Council,
The American Institute
of Architects
1301 J Street, Suite 200
Sacramento, California 95814
916/448-9082

Executive Committee
President
Michael J. Stanton, FAIA
First Vice President
Paul J. Gumbinger, FAIA
Secretary
Donald L. Hansen, AIA
Treasurer
Donald W. Caskey, AIA
Vice President,
Governmental Relations
Edward Grochowiak, AIA
Vice President,
Communications/Public Affairs
Kenneth A. Rodrigues, AIA
Vice President,
Professional Practice
Mark L. Smith, AIA
Executive Vice President
Paul W. Welch, Jr., Hon. CCAIA

Board of Directors
AIA Directors
Betsey O. Dougherty, FAIA
Chester A. Widom, FAIA
Douglas H. Austin, FAIA
Lawrence P. Segrue, FAIA
Associate Directors
Mary E. Austern (North)
Randal J. Ehm (South)
Student Director
Lief Tsai
Cabrillo Chapter
Richard Dachman, AIA
California Central Coast Chapter
Allen Cooper, AIA
California Desert Chapter
Ray Howard, AIA
Central Valley Chapter
Stephen E. Haidet, AIA
Bruce R. Starkweather, AIA
Jack A. Paddon, AIA
East Bay Chapter
Robert C. Davidson, AIA
Michael Coleman, AIA
P. Greg Raymond, AIA
Golden Empire Chapter
Gregory L. Kendrick, AIA
Inland California Chapter
James L. Gilliam, AIA
Los Angeles Chapter
Ronald A. Altoon, FAIA
Richard A. Appel, AIA
John V. Mutlow, AIA
Margo Hebald Heymann, AIA
Richard Sol, AIA
Norma Sklarek, FAIA
Monterey Bay Chapter
Paul W. Davis, AIA
Orange County Chapter
Dan Heinfeld, AIA
Roberta W. Jorgensen, AIA
John W. McMurray, AIA
Pasadena & Foothill Chapters
Roger O. Cocke, AIA
Scott Gaudineer, AIA
Redwood Empire Chapter
Eric M. Glass, AIA
San Diego Chapter
Dale Jenkins, AIA
David C. Thompson, AIA
James Robbins, AIA
San Fernando Valley Chapter
Bouje M. Bernkopf, AIA
San Francisco Chapter
Charles N. Eley, FAIA
Bobbie Sue Hood, FAIA
William H. Liskam, FAIA
Kenneth Natkin, AIA
John A. Ruffo, AIA
San Joaquin Chapter
Peter Mogensen, AIA
San Mateo County Chapter
Robert S. George, AIA
Santa Barbara Chapter
Edwin Lenvik, AIA
John W. Pitman, FAIA
Santa Clara Valley Chapter
Jerome A. King, AIA
Larry Lagier, AIA
Ronald V. Ronconi, AIA
Sierra Valley Chapter
Steve Castellanos, AIA
Ventura County Chapter
Stephen F. Harberts, AIA

ARCHITECTURE
CALIFORNIA

Volume 13 Number 2 August 1991

Growth in California

2 From the Editor

3 The Cornucopia Is Running Low
JOHN L. FIELD, FAIA

7 The Question of Growth, or the Past as Present
STEPHANIE PINCETL

10 Growth Management: A Plan in Search of a Constituency
MANUEL E. PEREZ, AIA

12 Density
IRA MICHAEL HEYMAN
ELIZABETH DEAKIN

20 Form Follows Freeways
THOMAS LOLLINI, AIA

24 The Qualities of Growth
PETER CALTHORPE, AIA

28 Watsonville on Edge
SIGRID MILLER POLLIN, AIA

33 Growth Management and Design Review: Is Older Better?
ARTHUR E. STAMPS, Ph.D, AIA

36 Taking Los Angeles Seriously: Time and Space in the Postmodern City
MICHAEL DEAR

43 The Paradox of Controls: Charting the Course for Political Involvement
BRIAN CEARNAL, AIA

45 Growth and City Health
ERIC H. MONKKONEN

48 Growth Strategies for Southern California
RONALD L. BAERS, AIA, AICP
FRANK E. HOTCHKISS, AIA, AICP

55 Race, Environment, and Land
CYNTHIA HAMILTON

59 Healthy Cities
LEONARD J. DUHL, M.D.

63 Architects and Growth
ALLYNE WINDERMAN, AIA

From the Editor

With this issue, *Architecture California* focuses on growth in California. A vision of the potential contribution of architects to the management of California's growth has galvanized the Board of Directors of the California Council of the American Institute of Architects and the CCAIA Managing California's Growth Task Force. It is the goal of the Editorial Board of *Architecture California* to bring to the forefront of discussion the questions involved in the mushrooming growth of California cities and towns. In so doing, the Editorial Board and the Editor hope to provoke debate and to provide a forum for diverse points of view.

A dominant theme emerges here despite the diversity of perspective: Growth in California is predominantly a problem of *urbanization*, and strategies for its management require innovation in *design of the urban environment*. The distinct problems of cities, suburbs, and small, rural, and new towns are subsumed by the pervasive problems of urbanization—housing, transit, environment, infrastructure, and quality of life.

In the past 100 years, while the U.S. population increased four fold, California's expanded by a factor of twenty-four. In the past decade, the dollar value of new construction doubled, the gross state product per person (when measured against *nations*) rose to fourth in the world, and California attained the not unremarkable distinction of international leadership in per capita automobile ownership. In contrast, in the past thirty years, the percentage of households capable of affording a medium-priced home dropped from 45 percent to 20, and the proportion of the population living in poverty is now higher than the national average (including 25 percent of the state's children). While speculative investment has responded to these staggering realities by overextending itself in the construction of dwellings, increasing numbers of residents are living in the streets.

Architects, who augment the built environment in order to house the swelling population, are confronted daily with intractable problems for which design solutions are expected. As our authors show, the efforts of architects are often contingent on the vast workings of government agencies and private interest that set the terms for growth. In response, the promise of an architecturally designed human urbanism is offered here anew, the promise that social disparities exacerbated by growth, as well as the widespread experience of alienation produced by sprawl, may be alleviated—at least partially—by considerations of density, scale, and quality of place. Concurrently, this view of urbanism is productively challenged by invitations to specify and particularize design strategies, by sober reexamination of the history of growth management initiatives, by an engagement of urban life through 'postmodern lived experience', and by charges to participate in the conflicts currently raging over land development, escalating transit crises, public health policy, and environmental management.

As architects advance design strategies for directing development and assume active roles in the political process, *Architecture California* supports continuing debate about the issues related to California's astonishing growth.

Lian Hurst Mann, AIA

The Cornucopia Is Running Low

John L. Field, FAIA

In the early twentieth century, California sold to the rest of the country its image, an image made in part from the natural beauty of the landscape and climate of the state, and in part from the optimism and economic potential that marked this as the last frontier of the continental United States. Everything that the dreamers dreamed has come true—and more. Yet development has gradually transformed California from a land of plenty into a land of limits.

The architectural profession participated in creating and fulfilling these dreams, but in the latter part of this century it has been content, at best, to sit back and observe the mounting problems facing California, or at worst to participate in hacking off its share of the carcass. The days when California was an endless frontier where we could build, abandon, and then move on may already be over. We need to look more carefully at the existing built environment and how we can make better use of it rather than at how to build another, even better, suburb.

The degradation of California life is affecting not only its older, traditional cities, which have spread out from their origins and their prototypical 'main streets', but also the sprawling newer suburbs, where housing tracts and freeways engulfed farmland and ranches but never developed as vital communities. Whatever their origins, many of California's urbanized as well as suburbanized areas now suffer from similar social ills: crime, drugs, homelessness, and a basic loss of 'humanness'.

These problems cannot be separated from the physical characteristics of the built environment in that they both play an active role in the social deterioration of the American city and suburb alike. California's suburbs are no longer not urban. Most are not high-rise, but their endless horizontal extension provokes an equally dehumanizing environment. The failure of the promised ambience of suburban life is forcing us to reevaluate some of the principles that historically have shaped our planning practices and the issues that now challenge the ways we have viewed and built our physical environment.

First is the fact of our almost total reliance on the automobile for commuting, running errands, or visiting friends. As a result, our suburbs have been designed first to serve the car, and only secondarily to serve people.

Second is the rapid loss of the natural landscape that originally attracted people to California. The once beautiful setting for our cities and early suburbs is being destroyed, and a city in California may now be confused with one in New Jersey or New York. As the pastoral landscape vanishes there is an environmental degradation that cannot be recovered.

Third is our slavish devotion to the single-family home with its individual lot, despite ample evidence that this type of housing, endlessly spread out over an ever-greater area, results in a kind of growth that fails to meet the physical and emotional needs of community life. So far, the process of limiting growth has only served to drive housing prices beyond the reach of many would-be buyers, while taxing the community with the costs of extravagant consumption of land and ever-lengthening networks of roads and utility lines.

The California buyer profile is changing as well. The new census confirms

what sociologists have said about changing family patterns: there has been a dramatic increase in the number of single parents and single-person households. It seems clear that housing stock designed to fit families of the 1950s with two parents—only one of whom would be working—and 2.3 children fails to meet the needs of increasing numbers of people with a variety of lifestyles.

Fourth is at once the most subtle and the most troubling issue of all: These endless subdivisions of the land create a pervasive sense of being *nowhere*—neither urban nor rural, with neither sense of place nor community to offer residents. (Telefax and videotapes are inadequate substitutes for personal and social relations.)

This development pattern is remarkable because it is so uniquely American. Though many older European cities have an appealing ambience, they do not offer planning models or solutions to our problems. Unique social forces and values have shaped the urbanization of America. We do not have the European tradition of daily social assembly. Our cities have not needed defense from outside attack. They have rarely benefited from a rich patron who shaped the urban space for personal glorification. Compared to most European towns, American cities are all relatively modern. Not only are they newer, but they were built and evolved over a relatively short period of time from trading camp to high-rise city. A more significant difference between the two is that American cities stand as one of the most concrete expressions of two centuries of democracy in action. Seldom since the framing of our constitution has any idea been carried out by city planners that did not reflect the will of the people. Whether at the federal or local level, the American public has taken seriously its right to direct its own destiny. We tend to forget that our own values generated the very form of suburban America.

Having created the metropolitan and suburban areas they once wanted, many Californians today no longer like living in them. Because California has been a leader in setting the patterns of American lifestyles, perhaps it is also appropriate for us to reconsider what constitutes a 'livable' urban environment. Since 1262, when Siena formulated one of the earliest codes for control of urban design, all cities considered 'livable' have had some traits in common. They have a unique sense of place that is both physically defined and emotionally perceived. They possess a sense of accumulated history, expressed in the evidence of successive changes, like the rings of a tree trunk. They have at least one common space for community gathering that is typically a space between public buildings that serves equally well routine activities and festivals or ceremonies, but significantly, it functions as the center of daily life. In most cases, the human being is taken to be the measure of urban experience.

Given the development patterns we have inherited for planning suburbs and subdivisions alike, it seems important to determine the critical extent to which a subdivision can spread before it loses the possibility of possessing these common traits, and thus a sense of community. We must also calculate the critical height of buildings in terms of the point at which their scale ceases to be human. And, we must explore alternative ways to approach increased demands on our transit systems.

To begin, we should introduce regional planning so that we can identify and define our metropolitan areas as constellations of towns that have distinct limits or edges. Second, there is a need for something more than landscaped greenbelts to demarcate those urban areas, for something that remains of the original character of the geographic settings that identify them. (Imagine if San Francisco were no longer surrounded by the bay but instead had subdivisions

spread around it.) Third, we should intensify development of the central districts of these suburbs in order to make them work as towns, and at the same time check the outward growth of subdivisions —no matter how well designed they are. Fourth, it is obvious that increased density of development demands improved public transit systems, both within towns and between them.

Intensifying development of separate constellations brings with it inevitable changes in the relationships communities maintain with the past: In the course of preserving our fine old buildings, we must distinguish between the merely old and the architectural and historical landmarks of our evolution. This is the physical evidence of our past, yet each generation contributes to this its own attitudes and ideas. Finally, only a part of what each generation has produced will be preserved. The rest will be torn down to make room for the next generation's dreams and aspirations. Change is part of the natural renewing of every living thing, and it is important to accept cities as living organisms. The vitality of a city's life is measured in part by its self-confidence in its own ability to produce new landmarks: Only a timid and fearful society believes that nothing its generation can produce will equal what was done in the past.

The immediate task before us is to make *places* out of endless suburban nowheres. They need to become towns in the sense that they can support vital communities. The process of mini-intensifying in existing suburbanized areas need not be undertaken on the scale of a redevelopment project. It is more likely that changes would be introduced in a gradual process of infill. In this regard, many existing sites offer special opportunity: The suburban shopping center, for example, could be a modern-day 'main street' where people carry out everyday business as well as shop. Civic landmarks as well as housing with distinctive character can be juxtaposed amid the otherwise often anonymous suburban sprawl. By mixing uses in a shopping center so that there are civic and commercial offices, libraries, museums, and other cultural facilities, we will be on the way to achieving more intensively interrelated community life merely by making use of what we already have.

In the contemporary urban setting, livability of these spaces is judged in many ways: on the basis of practical necessities like police and fire protection or the parking of automobiles or on the individual's need for experience of outdoor areas. But there are two kinds of outdoor spaces we use: public space that is the street and private space that is the backyard or deck. In most cities, there are roughly sixty feet of paved street between property lines, which is more than is absolutely necessary for driving or walking. Intensified development that would increase livability of outdoor space is possible if the height of buildings is measured not in absolute numbers but in relation to the scale of the right-of-way, and if the resulting proportions are further calibrated to the angles of the sun or other such overriding concerns. For example, it almost goes without saying that the ample proportions of suburban streets constitute a waste of valuable space. But they can be replanned to generate city blocks on a fifty percent larger scale, which would create mid-block open space in proportion to buildings of seventy-five feet instead of forty feet in height.

The scale of the built environment represents only one aspect of the challenge to make greater density work for us. Instead of *cul-de-sac* planning, we should interconnect the constellation of communites with sufficient alternate transit routes to reduce the dependence on freeways and major arteries: home, workplace, commercial establishments, and cultural and entertainment facilities should all be easily accessible by car, or,

better still, within walking distance of one another. And, large-scale planning for services like transit, utilities, and waste disposal that make up the infrastructure is essential to the functional working of metropolitan constellations. Above all, every community should offer an inviting social focal point, a contemporary equivalent of the traditional pedestrian-oriented 'main street', and each constellation must maintain some visible geographical edge where the natural setting reasserts its primacy.

With a modest shift in the intensity of use but still working with the existing built environment, it is possible to develop a livable urbanism that will be unique to America. It will be more like Amsterdam or Nash's London than New York or Chicago. Out of this will evolve an appropriate architecture that will be nearer to Seaside than Le Corbusier, and will not require artificial historicism. It will provide the quality of life we seek wherein compromises are made at prices we will be better able to afford. This result can never be achieved by architecture alone: chairs and plazas with fountains are not able to reverse the forces already in motion. The problems facing both the city and the suburb lie not with architectural design but rather with density. Rooted deep in the American psyche is the notion that density is a dirty word, but there must be something between the skyscraper and the two-story single-family house on a wide lot on a even wider street.

The reasons that architecture, urban planning, health, public safety, and property zoning have consistently been treated as disciplines independent of the structure of taxation and financing are obscure. Public and private pressures already extract expensive contributions from developers, intermingling issues that are conceived and structured separately. In order to remedy this situation and avoid subdividing and paving an entire state, both government officials and the public will need to open up new lines of communication among the agencies and private interest groups engaged with development. Architects may see intellectual discussions concerning historic Modernism as important, but to the public they are rather esoteric compared to livable density, which is in everyone's backyard. It is time for the architects of California, whose role has been diminishing, to reassert themselves and lead the way to designing a new California urbanism.

The Question of Growth, or The Past as Present

Stephanie Pincetl

How to grow has long been contentious in this popular state. Despite the current recession, California is still responding to the effects of growth, and decisions about growth management continue to be acrimoniously debated. The issues have not essentially changed over time, but have only become more difficult to resolve. In order to better understand the framework of these debates, it is necessary to begin with a brief survey of past efforts at managing growth.

Growth has been regarded as an undifferentiated phenomenon, yet it comprises a variety of processes and factors that act upon one another in unpredictable ways and that change with place and time. In California, one aspect of growth is the phenomenon of striking population growth, especially among Asian and Latino populations. In some places, this triggers a racist no-growth backlash. Growth here is also a matter of construction activity characterized by a boom in the numbers of units of housing being built, largely for middle- and upper-income markets. There is also the fact of economic growth as it is measured by the state's aggregate product: goods and services produced. It is the nature of this aggregate economic growth that structures the rest and creates a widening gap between rich and poor, skilled and unskilled labor, determining the distribution of housing opportunities and commercial real estate development.[1] Local communities have sought ways of opposing the effects of growth on the places in which they live.

As early as 1959, California Governor Edmund Brown moved growth management to the front burner. His Coordinating Council on Urban Policy, formed the same year, pioneered studies on the problems of local governments in the face of regional growth. In its 1961 report, the Council urged the creation of one multipurpose regional district in each of the state's metropolitan areas that would assume responsibility for regional planning and at least one additional function such as air pollution control or urban renewal.[2] The legislature attempted to implement formation of such districts, but met with hostility from officials of many small- and medium-sized cities. In the end, the proposal was defeated.

In 1963, the Council proposed a state-level commission of five members appointed by the governor to review all annexation, incorporation, and special district formation proposals. This plan was strongly opposed by the powerful County Supervisors' Association of California, and ended up reformulated as the Local Agency Formation Commissions we have today. These have only furthered the balkanization of municipal governments, especially by race and class, and have not fostered the good planning that was the intention of the original proposal.

The Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG), formed in 1961, pioneered growth coordination and planning for the state. It was originally conceived as a forum for discussion, but in 1962 it became an advisory planning agency. The late 1950s and 1960s were

years of accelerated growth in California; these were the decades of the Eichlers, the Kaufmann and Broads, and the Lyons, all of whom were responsible for building our current urban form. The conversion of such places as the Santa Clara Valley from farmland to subdivisions was the impetus behind citizen activism and state concern about the direction and consequences of unchecked growth. ABAG was a regional-level attempt to coordinate growth among its member municipalities. Southern California followed the north's lead and formed the Southern California Area Governments (SCAG) in 1966. Both organizations adhered to a formula granting advisory status but no regulatory or enforcement power.

In an extraordinary example, in 1962 the non-profit journal *California Tomorrow* published *California Going, Going...Our State's Struggle to Remain Beautiful and Productive*, the first in a series of this organization's publications advocating regional planning with guidelines for implementation. This document focused on concerns about the environment, housing, and racial segregation, arguing that a plan developed at the state level and implemented by regional governments offered the means to redress inequities between the inner city and the suburb and to preserve environmental quality.

Several other attempts were made at the state level to develop mechanisms within regional governments to manage growth during the 1960s. Grass roots organizations opposing growth championed several *causes célèbres* including the proposed Disney development at Mineral King, a freeway through Golden Gate Park, and a nuclear power plant proposal for Bodega Bay, among many others. Yet the obstacles to regional planning posed by the developers remain insurmountable even today. Local land-use planning authority, delegated by the United States Constitution to state governments, which in turn delegate it to local governments, is a jealously guarded local power. It is inextricably woven into the ideology of private property ownership and the rights of Americans. Local control over local land use is considered a democratic right, and this has manifested itself in a variety of ways. Historically, property has functioned as the object of economic speculation. Even federal land disposal policies institutionalized the right to make money on the selling of land. And, local growth boosters have depended heavily on land development to ensure their own economic success. They have demonstrated an equal dependence on officials, who in turn control land use in order to enable the local community to implement exclusionary practices and hence protect itself from minorities and the poor. All this is presented as the 'people' exercising democratic control over their own community.

In the early 1970s, local municipalities, notably Petaluma and Davis, tried unsuccessfully to curb growth on their own. Each growth-control initiative reflected the different experience that determined a city's analysis of threats posed by growth to its quality of life. But neither was able to succeed because the forces *for* development were beyond regulatory powers. Still, regional planning advocacy peaked in the 1970s. Among advocates there was a common theme: distrust of local decision-making that would determine land use. Twenty years later, in the current legislature, history is repeating itself. Willie Brown's *Assembly Bill 3*, which creates a State Growth Management Commission and regional commissions to implement the state commission's plan, is not substantially different than the California Tomorrow (of which he was an advisory member) proposals of the 1960s.

What seems to be lacking is the recognition that growth-control issues are, in some fundamental sense, inextricably place-bound, and that state-level planning

may neither be relevant to local development problems nor effective for managing growth at the local level. As long as land is a commodity in which there is vested public interest, and government is unwilling to develop regulations to curb speculative gain on property development, it will be impossible to reconcile the two in order to effectively manage growth. In addition, none of the approaches that have been developed over the past two decades acknowledge the role that local residents might play in determining their own urban futures beyond conventional—albeit failed—city hall politics. Instead, these proposals call for locating decision-making even further from those whose daily lives are affected by growth. Growth control, or growth management, as it has been defined, does nothing to counteract accelerating environmental degradation and continual deterioration of the quality of daily life.

Design professionals are in a position to explore the complex relationship between land as a place people call home—and about which they have passionate feelings—and the pressure of speculative land development. Creative and compelling visions of a different kind of growth that respects neighborhood and environment and is based in politics must be developed. While the Eichlers, Kaufmann and Broads, and Lyons have brought us our current urban form, the limitations of their urban planning are evident: they have reaped the profits of speculative land development to the state's detriment. Regional planning, however, is limited in its ability to develop solutions that meet local and even regional needs. This is because state-led regional planning tends to shift attention away from the particularities of each locality, rather than looking at places as having distinctive and important characteristics.[3] Further, it has historically been the case that large-scale development forces have preferred regional- or state-level administration, because it is easier to influence the course of regulation at this scale than to deal with a myriad of smaller independent jurisdictions. A reassessment of the question of growth that addresses design issues as well as political processes and seeks to reinvigorate context-specific planning is a first small step toward managing growth with the goal of a more habitable urban framework in which human needs are given primacy over economic gain.

Notes

1. Paul Ong, Project Director, *The Widening Divide: Income Inequality and Poverty in Los Angeles* (Report, The Research Group on the Los Angeles Economy, Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of California, Los Angeles, 1989).

2. Stanley Scott and John C. Bollens, *Governing a Metropolitan Region: The San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley, Ca.: Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley, 1968).

3. Susan E. Clarke and Andrew Kirby, "In Search of the Corpse, The Mysterious Case of Local Politics," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 25, no.3 (March 1990).

Growth Management: A Plan in Search of a Constituency

Manuel E. Perez, AIA

Growth management, like the drought, has everybody talking, but hardly anyone is able to do anything about it. In California, as elsewhere, the issue of growth management—or growth control—tends to be negotiated either by those who want to promote change or by those who want to prevent it. Growth management can effectively be used to accelerate certain changes by prescribing comprehensive planning; it can also be used to preclude change by the simple imposition of excessive preconditions for projects that promise change. Growth management can be the legal and political vehicle for the revitalization of our troubled cities, it can preserve our valuable agricultural lands, it can bring new life to decaying industrial areas (it is currently easier to move and spoil new areas than to restore and reuse the existing ones), or it can simply be used to prevent growth, particularly when growth has a face of a different color or speaks a different language. The real danger is that the various 'industries' of development and construction will 'milk' the issue to economic and political advantage and human disadvantage.

I should first confess that I like cities, not just particular cities, but cities in general. I know that this view is not shared by many in society or in my own profession. As Morton and Lucia White wrote over thirty years ago in *The Intellectual Versus the City*, "From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright our nation's most distinguished artists, leaders, and intellectuals have proclaimed open hostility toward the city. Unlike the Englishman's London or the Frenchman's Paris, they have found nothing to love in the sprawling American metropolis."[1] Loathing of cities has not only become acceptable for architect, planner, and community activist alike, but has actually allowed Californians in general to pretend that urbanization is not taking place. Los Angeles historian Mike Davis was recently quoted observing that "Los Angeles always had that quality of being a city/non-city, a place that [had a] suburban, if not almost rural, lifestyle right in the heart of what became the great urban region. [But] L.A.'s anti-urban ethic is proving to be self-defeating in a period during which Los Angeles has developed a lot of urban problems that aren't in any sense atypical."[2]

The denial of a current growth and development crisis further complicates the matter now, as a series of proposals comes before the state legislature, each one proposing to deal with growth and its management. Because inaction has brought our cities and suburbs to a point of precarious imbalance, it is not surprising that there is no clearly defined constituency favoring a particular course of action. On the administrative side, Richard Sybert, Director of the Governor's Office of Planning and Research, has proposed that the legislators who have already submitted growth management legislation defer "action or legislative commitment" until 1992. As reported in the *Sacramento Bee*: "One reason for the delay is that the governor's new Interagency Council on Growth Management won't be making recommendations to Wilson until next year on how the state should go about managing the

pace and scale of California's Growth."[3] At the same time, the Growth Management Consensus Project that has been described as a "disparate group of developers, environmentalists, housing advocates, government officials, and community activists" has the express intention of influencing the Governor's Office of Planning and Research regarding growth management.[4] Is it too presumptuous to suggest that the proposals will be heavily weighed in terms of their political import and impact?

"Urban policies and programs during the post-World War II generation had characteristics that almost guaranteed mixed good and bad results. Frequently they attacked the outer manifestation of the problems rather than the underlying causes (as with the carefully defended highway building program); their scale and time horizon for planning and action were unrelated to the depth and scope of the problems involved (as was true of the great majority of urban programs); and they touched only superficially the great underlying human problems of disadvantage and prejudice."[5] In the wake of this collective failure, and in the face of new opportunities to reverse the situation, there is a need to form a constituency that engages the problems of growth management from a nonexclusive, nonelitist point of view and one which recognizes that urbanism is here to stay. Architects, planners, and urban designers are already an affected group, and can lead in the formation of this constituency. In order to do so, however, we will have to begin by jettisoning the inherited Jeffersonian and Wrightian hatred of cities. We must not turn our backs on our cities simply because they do not meet our every expectation, and we must become familiar with cities in order to accept them—like family—warts and all.

The advocacy for growth management by this new constituency should approach growth and change as normal processes that can neither be wholly accepted nor denied. Growth management should strive for social, economic, ethnic, and age blindness: it should be inclusive and not exclusive. Most importantly, it should take into account the investments that have already been made in existing cities and focus on improving them before their demise leads to the larger destruction of our environment and, by extension, our ability to compete in today's world.

"In a political system where conflict resolution is an emergency device, where specialization has forced narrowness of purpose from the federal government on down, and where a multitude of healthy public interests are frustrated by an overdose of competition, housing equity and environmental protection have managed to win enough hard fought battles that each must consider the other's potential."[6] The future of our cities is very definitely in our hands. We can either accept the challenge or we can ignore the crisis before us. It must be remembered that growth management is only one potential tool for dealing with the future of the city; it is not an end in itself. On the other hand, incorrectly managed growth will surely accelerate the evident decline in our 'quality of life'.

Notes

1. Morton and Lucia White, *The Intellectual Versus The City* (New York: Mentor Paperback, 1962; New American Library, 1964).
2. Bob Secter, "Getting Out," *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, 19 May 1991, 14.
3. Bradley Inman, "California Trends - Wilson Not Ready to Tackle Growth?," *Sacramento Bee*, 10 Feb. 1991.
4. Bradley Inman, "California Trends - Tackling Question of Growth," *Sacramento Bee*, 3 March 1991.
5. Harvey S. Perloff, ed., *Agenda for the New Urban Era* (Chicago, Ill.: The American Society of Planning Officials, 1975), 4.
6. Mary E. Brooks, *Housing Equity and Environmental Protection: The Needless Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Planners, 1976), 1.

Density

Ira Michael Heyman
Elizabeth Deakin

Regional land-use planning and regulatory initiatives are popping up all over California. They are in large part the result of an increasing number of people locating themselves in and near existing population centers. Some of the population increase is natural. A larger portion is due to migration from other parts of the United States and especially to immigration, much from Asia, Mexico, and Central America. Two perceived clusters of problems have emerged: crime, drugs, sickness, homelessness, and unemployment in the central cities; traffic congestion, air pollution, loss of greenery and other open space, and shortages of affordable housing in the suburbs.

The regional efforts being considered now are largely aimed at the suburban problems (although their solution also will benefit the central cities). A chief villain, it is argued, is low-density development, both residential and industrial-commercial. Critics urge that the use for development of much more land than is 'necessary' is responsible for the paucity of convenient public transit, auto dependence, and the resulting traffic congestion and air pollution; inflated bills for infrastructure such as water, sewer lines, and roads; unnecessarily high housing costs; and the disappearance of open space, the misuse of prime agricultural lands, and the conversion of ecologically important resources to development uses. They argue for concerted intervention to encourage compact growth at higher densities within and contiguous to existing developed areas, and preservation of other lands in current uses.

There is a vigorous opposing view: A number of people, many of whom are developers or their consultants, argue that those who question low-density development have not proved that such development is more costly. They believe that people in general highly value living in single homes on spacious lots, dislike living in apartments, and fear that high-density areas will make them and their children vulnerable to crimes such as drug dealing, thefts, and assaults. They argue that people demonstrate these preferences by being willing to devote substantial proportions of their income and time to obtaining low-density housing. They point out that shopping centers are convenient to suburban dwellers, low-rise industrial development and offices are efficient, and surrounding them with lawns and park-like settings is aesthetically pleasing. Likewise, they argue that the automobile is relied upon because it is liberating and convenient, and that there are better responses to traffic congestion and air pollution than seeking to control land-use patterns and limit auto use. Finally, opponents contend that any system of regulation that seeks to concentrate needed development in denominated urban areas and put other areas off-limits is destined to manipulation by opponents of development, which will unduly limit growth and frustrate the just aspirations of both developers and their customers.

What are the merits of these competing claims? Here, we review the evidence on density and its benefits and costs, and then discuss a proposal for tackling the density issue through coordinated planning and regulation.

Benefits and Costs of Density: A Review of the Evidence

A large and varied literature stretching back nearly two centuries has examined the relationships among land use, transportation, and urban development. Three areas of inquiry are especially informative on the density issue: studies of the costs of alternative development patterns; theoretical work and model development on the factors affecting location choice and urban form; and, empirical studies of transportation and land-use interactions. Taken together, these studies reveal that sprawl and low density are costly, that transportation investments have helped to support sprawl, and that carefully designed land-use and transportation planning interventions are needed to capture important possibilities for redirecting development to more effective, affordable, and attractive patterns.

Low-density development is more costly

Does sprawl really matter? Concerns about rapid suburbanization and attendant social, economic, and environmental impacts have led a series of researchers to investigate the costs of alternative development patterns. The various studies have looked at somewhat different issues (costs to local governments, costs to developers and consumers, energy and environmental consequences, social effects) and have used different assumptions and methods of analysis. Despite these differences, their overall conclusions are the same: Low-density development is almost always more expensive than higher-density development, and scattered site development ('sprawl') is generally more costly than clustered development contiguous to established areas. Added costs accrue because more land is being used, because more infrastructure is needed per unit, and for a variety of other reasons, including environmental damage.

Low-density development is land-hungry. High development costs have been an issue in California housing markets for years, and are increasingly an issue for commercial and industrial development. One reason the state's development costs are high is that permitted densities are low—and low density requires more land to satisfy a given demand.

Development costs reflect the amount of land per unit of building. If markets for land and development were weak, land costs would adjust to reflect the development types and levels permitted by zoning; in a weak market, low development potential would depress land values. But when demand for developable land is as strong as it is in California, land prices often remain high even when downzoning occurs. Developers simply build fewer units but charge more for each unit. Sometimes, low permitted densities have the added effect of shifting the product produced: the developer who might have built eight units of moderately priced housing per acre will build only executive homes if the limit per acre is three.

Low density raises infrastructure costs. Several studies have focused on the differences in infrastructure costs as a function of development density and contiguity. Substantial cost variations have been noted, but these in part are due to differences in various communities' development requirements (permissible class sizes, required street widths and pavement standards, sidewalk requirements, etc.) After accounting for these factors, remaining cost differentials result largely from the need for more miles of road and utilities (sewers, water pipes, storm drainage) per unit of development in a spread-out area than in a compact one. The amounts involved are not trivial: for housing, infrastructure cost differences of 40 to over 400 percent, or about $15,000 to $80,000, have been reported.[1]

Other costs accrue. Regional studies of land use, transportation, and their air pollution and energy consumption consequences—controlled for household size, income, and other socioeconomic factors—show that households in low-density areas have auto trip rates, fuel use, and pollutant emissions as much as 50 percent higher than households in areas developed at moderate density (eight to twelve units per acre). The reason is that the higher-density areas support higher levels of transit use, shorten many trips, and make walking and bicycling reasonable options for some outings. It is important to note that single-family housing is still the norm in these moderate-density areas, though some also include a mix of townhouses and apartments.

Defenders of low-density development respond that even if costs are higher than they would be at higher densities, consumers pay for many of the additional costs, including the added costs of travel by auto. Therefore, consumers must consider the added expense to be worthwhile. Consumer-paid expenses, however, rarely if ever extend to a number of important costs: large portions of off-site infrastructure expenses, especially the vast public subsidies for highway costs and the air pollution, noise pollution, and energy vulnerability that result from an auto-dependent lifestyle. If these costs were assessed, consumer preferences might shift.

LOCATION CHOICE AND URBAN FORM

Location theory establishes that transportation availability and mode are closely related to urban development patterns. We have invested heavily in highway systems that have both supported and resulted in diffused urban development patterns. Widespread use of automobiles initially made these diffused development patterns possible, but increasingly became a necessity as land-use patterns that discourage alternative modes became the suburban norm. Location theory has roots in the work of Ricardo and von Thunen,[2] who observed that land, labor, and capital are the primary inputs of production, and that the use of land is determined, in part, by its location. Transportation facilities and service characteristics are critical in location theory because they determine how accessible various places are: land values and land uses reflect the locational advantages transportation systems confer.[3]

In the 1950s and 1960s, researchers developed these concepts into formal analytical models of urban development.[4] In simple form, these models consider a center at which production and distribution activities are concentrated. Transportation costs increase with distance from the center. Since, all else being equal, location at the center minimizes transportation costs, land values are highest there, and other locations will command lower rents reflective of their greater costs of transport.

Not all land uses gain equally from location in a center. Specialized businesses often do best in a central location, as do firms that need regular face-to-face contact with other firms. Location in a center also offers opportunities for economies of agglomeration and economies of scale. Firms that provide goods and services to these central offices locate near, but may not need to locate within, the center. Other activities with less frequent need for central access locate farther out. Multiple centers can form as businesses consider the relative benefits and costs of different locations. Some businesses are tied to particular sites due to needs for special qualities only available there, but others can choose where to locate within an urban area by considering the relative importance to their businesses of access to goods and services, to labor, and to markets. Over time, as different activities choose different locations, specialization and agglomeration economies lead to the development of distinct nuclei, or subcenters.

Location theory says investments that lower the cost of transportation to an employment center would simultaneously encourage development at the center and extend the periphery. In general, if transportation costs are reduced at a particular place, businesses located there will be more profitable and better able to expand; other businesses also will find the location comparatively advantageous and seek to locate there. Thus, in theory, businesses will tend to congregate at points where transportation costs are low. On the other hand, because time has its own value, reduced commuting costs would make it possible for commuters to spend more on housing, to travel farther, or both. If, as is usually the case, transportation is cheap relative to housing and one can buy more house per dollar farther from the center, households will have an incentive to live farther away from their work places. If residences decentralize, businesses that sell frequently-purchased consumer goods and services follow, decentralizing this portion of the work force as well.

Location theory focuses on economic factors and, in particular, on transportation's role in explaining the spatial distribution of various land uses. Alternate theories place greater emphasis on historical and social factors and cycles of growth and decline.[5] These conceptions point to the importance of existing land uses, the cost and suitability of land and buildings, labor market conditions, services available, local government regulations, crime rates. For households, they emphasize income, number of workers, race, sex, age, lifestyle, presence of children, quality of schools. Recently analysts have built complex simulation models in an attempt to account for such factors.[6] The models confirm that these other factors are important determinants of location and land use.

Yet the models also confirm that decisions about the location of jobs and housing can be influenced in important ways by transportation investments. In particular, investments in nearly ubiquitous highway facilities have shifted development potential in favor of suburbanization, from high-density areas where many trips would be made by foot or transit to multiple outlying areas, the majority of them just off a freeway, built at low densities and heavily dependent on the auto. Declining relative accessibility to established centers has spurred the growth of new centers in outlying areas.

LAND USE-TRANSPORTATION INTERACTIONS

California voters recently authorized six billion dollars in bonds for rail transit systems and improvements. Will major rail expenditures in metropolitan areas raise housing densities, moderate automobile use, and check congestion and pollution?

As we have seen, transportation investments steer land use, and highways in particular have helped shape today's development patterns. Now, many urban areas are trying to shift the balance by making substantial investments in transit, in hopes that it will help redirect development into more compact, efficient patterns and thereby reduce auto dependency, reduce congestion and air pollution, and decrease the consumption of fuel, farmland, and other resources. At the same time, there is concern about keeping public subsidization within reason. There must be substantial passenger demand for transit to perform effectively, and land uses and other factors supportive of transit must be created and maintained to ensure that investments in transit services are not wasted.

Can transit restructure land use? Most studies have focused on rail systems to determine the impact of new transit modes on land uses, though a few have looked at less place-specific investments such as trolleys on shared right-of-way and bus services.[7] The results of the studies are mixed.[8] In some cases development

appears to have been stimulated by transit investments; in others, little change from established patterns can be detected. Rail systems do seem to have supported additional development in major CBDs, but the added attractiveness of a rail connection rarely has been enough to overcome a weak market or other negatives in declining parts of the region. Nor has the availability of transit service always convinced local governments to zone transit-served areas for higher densities and a mix of uses. In fact, several cases have been documented in which local government actually downzoned properties near transit to prevent increased densities and mixed uses. In several cases, moreover, rail stations apparently made once-remote suburban locations sufficiently accessible to spur development at the fringe.[9] In this fashion transit-induced shifts toward compact growth and increased density, when they occur, may be counteracted by other shifts toward regional decentralization.

Overall, transit availability and quality affect location and land use, but so do many other factors. Unless these other factors are supportive, merely installing a transit investment will not make a substantial difference in reshaping development in a region.

Land use impacts the success of transit systems. Whatever the converse, development patterns do matter to transit. Studies of the conditions under which transit functions successfully have identified four key interrelated dimensions: density, development size, land-use mix, and design features.[10] Of particular importance in attracting commuters to transit is the size of the downtown or other compact center. Focusing retail and office uses in such few large centers will result in higher transit use than creating more smaller centers. Mixing and clustering land uses can add greatly to the convenience and attractiveness of transit, making it possible for the transit user to run errands or go out to lunch without a car. Reductions of parking and charging users to park also have been found to be critical factors in mode choice.

Density also matters at the residential end of the trip. While transit ridership levels also reflect household income, demographics, number of workers, and so on, studies have found that densities of seven to fifteen dwelling units per acre are needed to support moderately frequent bus service; for rail systems, residential densities of ten to fifteen units per acre are needed over wide areas. In comparison, most American suburbs are being built at densities of two to five dwelling units per acre, levels that can barely justify buses on twenty-minute headways during peak periods only.

Particular hopes are held for land-use planning coordinated in the vicinity of rail stations and major bus transfer points. In downtowns, these often take the form of transit malls lined with shops and restaurants in a festival atmosphere, or station designs that incorporate offices and high-density housing. In the suburbs, moderate-density housing and commercial activities are being clustered in 'pedestrian pocket' subdivisions near transit stations or bus transfer points.[11] Densities of these new suburban designs are similar to those of such desirable older communities as Piedmont and Berkeley in northern California, Santa Monica in the south.

Some of the new designs have been implemented by developers looking for a better, more saleable product; some have come about through the efforts of city planning staffs. To date, results are encouraging: banks have been willing to finance the projects, and sales and lease-ups have been brisk. Thus, the new designs offer hope that thoughtful planning may yet be able to steer transportation and land use in desired directions.

IMPLICATIONS

The foregoing illustrates a number of points:

• Low-density development generally is more expensive than higher-density development.

• Higher-density concentrations are necessary to achieve a better balance between public transit and the use of automobiles. Easily accessible public transit could be the preferred mode for many people who now drive cars, but will be affordable and usable only if densities are increased in both commercial centers and residential areas.

• Mixed-use, moderate- and high-density clusters of residences, shopping centers and offices can create environments of urban interchange and interest that many folks would enjoy if provided the opportunity.

• Many folks misperceive the nature of higher densities. Manhattanization is not necessary: Low-rise apartments and single family homes can be interspersed pleasantly and productively without anti-social consequences.

Regulatory Interventions to Achieve Higher Densities

These findings also suggest that explicit policy and regulatory interventions are needed to achieve desired results. Intervention might take the form of a plan for a metropolitan area that seeks to concentrate new development in or near existing concentrations of urban uses, thus discouraging sprawl, lessening or eliminating the rate of increase in the use of private automobiles (especially those occupied solely by the driver), and stimulating the deployment and use of accessible and efficient public transit. Under such a plan, other areas would be preserved for agriculture, for the protection of ecologically sensitive lands such as wetlands and watershed, for recreation, as reserves for future urban development, and the like. Separating the two would be urban limit lines that would be reviewed periodically to assure the existence of ample space for predicted development needs.

Such a plan has been proposed for the San Francisco Bay Area by the Bay Vision 2020 Commission, a diverse group of leaders representing many constituencies. Their proposal currently is being considered, and the debate illustrates the issues. Three questions of significance remain concerning fairness, deterrence of development, and governmental structures.

Fairness

Lands designated for urban development, whether infill within urban areas or compact development on the fringes, in many instances will go up in value when an urban limit line is drawn; lands on the other side might experience a downturn in value. Thus, some land owners will benefit, others will be penalized. Is this an unfair (or illegal) result? The question is not a simple one and extensive analysis is out of place here. Nevertheless, a number of pertinent observations can be made.

First, urban growth boundaries will have to include enough land to avoid major increases in land values on the 'development' side of the boundaries, or housing costs would accelerate substantially, defeating a primary goal of growth management: provision of affordable housing. This would moderate the value differences.

Second, many sites outside the urban area would maintain substantial values in agricultural and resource uses and/or would be put into an urban reserve for future, more intensive uses. Downward tax reassessments would provide some compensation for declines in value.

Third, value declines due to rationally conceived and objective regulation are no more unfair than reductions that accompany changes in private or public development plans. When a new freeway is located, for instance, there are winners and losers. Our legal system does not contemplate special benefit taxes on the 'winners' to be paid to the 'losers'. If such is nevertheless desired, there are

means that could be provided in statute to help equalize the effects of value differentiations flowing from new regulations.

Fourth, lands permanently designated for ecological protection or for minimal uses (e.g., public recreation) in some cases will have to be acquired by the public in order to be preserved; in other instances a regulatory approach may be used.

DETERRENCE OF DEVELOPMENT IN PERMISSIBLE AREAS

Critics argue that the exemplified approach might be ideal in conception, but is often unworkable in practice. One critic cites neighborhood-based legal actions against projects in designated urban areas where proposed development should be permitted in accordance with the plan. The bases for such action could be multiple, depending on state law. Thus, legal suit might be brought on the theory that 'collateral' ordinances are applicable (e.g., ordinances requiring permits for cutting trees), that tendered environmental impact analyses are inadequate, or that local zoning permits must be obtained—all depending on state and local law. Further, local governments that accept the urban limit line approach in general might succumb to concentrated neighborhood resistance when an actual development proposal later comes forward. The worry is not necessarily that development undertakings consistent with a plan ultimately will be enjoined by courts or successfully denied by a local government; rather, a primary concern is that legal proceedings can so delay undertakings that they will either not be attempted or will be abandoned prematurely. These problems can be addressed with careful forethought when the planning and regulation system is created:

- Processes at the planning stage must fully involve all the players in bargaining and negotiations: thus, for instance, a regional agency, if any, must negotiate levels of development with local governments and the latter must mobilize neighborhood interests to assure notice, participation, and the ability of individuals to affect planning outcomes.
- Expeditious permit processes must operate at the local level with appeals to a regional agency, if any, or to a court or other body only when the local agency's action is clearly inconsistent with the plan that has established the urban limit line, the areas within and beyond it, and the regulations that pertain to each: expeditious outcomes might best be assured by requiring local plans to conform to the plan creating the scheme and then requiring permits to be administered in accordance with the conforming local plan.

GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE

Most people who have concerned themselves with ways to lessen urban sprawl in metropolitan areas have concluded that such a result cannot be obtained if we continue to rely solely on local government to exercise land-use authority. The Bay Area, like many metropolitan regions, includes a large number of local governments and special districts. The former have had exclusive authority to regulate the uses of land through zoning and subdivision regulation, and to carry out redevelopment projects.

A good deal of contemporary low-density development is the product of land-use regulation that is fiscally motivated. In California, suburban communities limited by *Proposition 13* seek to discourage higher-density housing because the new revenues generated (by property and utility taxes) are insufficient to pay for the service needs generated by the new population. Municipal tax reform is crucial in remedying this. There must either be a substantial overhaul of the tax system or at least a means for reallocation of some portion of tax revenues generated by new office, business, and industrial development to communities providing opportunities to house those working in or using such facilities. Extra-local authority may be needed to administer such a program.

In California there are at least three cases where extra-local authorities were necessary: the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, the California Coastal Zone Commission with its regional counterparts, and the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency. The creation of each was preceded by a lively struggle, with the chief opponents being local governments. Despite the controversy, it is hard to see how we can rely on the individual actions of a large number of local governments to discourage sprawl. Sprawl has region-wide roots. No individual community can successfully confront it unless there is assurance that other communities will act consistently.

Many problems attend the creation of an extra-local body with authority over growth management. The pendency of a number of bills in Sacramento that would create such agencies, and the stated interest of Governor Wilson, indicate that at least in California, interest is high and action is politically feasible. Taking such a step would provide us with the governmental entity that is essential to the establishment—in deep cooperation with local governments—of an overall plan determining where development will occur in a region, how transportation will be keyed to it, how public transit opportunities can be enhanced, how pollution control can be aided, and how revenues might be reallocated within the region to compensate for local costs. In addition, such an agency could manage the ongoing relations with local governments by reviewing the conformance of plans and by playing a limited role in permit appeals.

Notes

1. James E. Frank, *The Cost of Alternative Development Patterns: A Review of the Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, Washington, 1989).

2. David Ricardo, *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (London, 1817); J.H. von Thunen, *Die isolierte Staat auf Beziehungauf Landwirtschaft und Nationalekonomie* (Hamburg, 1826).

3. W. L. Garrison and Elizabeth A. Deakin, "Urban Transportation and Land Use," in *Public Transportation*, ed. George E. Gray and Lester A. Hoel (New York: Prentice-Hall, forthcoming).

4. Walter Isard, *Location and Space-Economy* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1956); Lowdon Wingo, Jr., ed., *Cities and Space: The Future Use of Urban Land* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1972); William Alonso, *Location and Land Use: Toward a General Theory of Land Rents*, Joint Center for Urban Studies Publication Series (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964); John F. Kain, "The Journey to Work as a Determinant of Residential Location," *Essays on Urban Spatial Structure*, ed. John F. Kain (Cambridge: Ballinger, 1975); Edwin Mills, "An Aggregate Model of Resource Allocation in a Metropolitan Area," *American Economic Review* 57 (1967).

5. E.W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City," in *The City: Problems of Planning*, ed. Murray Steward (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972); Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939); Richard M. Hurd, "Principles of City Land Values," *The Record and Guide* (Real Estate Record Association, 1903; reprint, 1924).

6. A. Anas, "Modeling the Dynamic Evolution of Land Use in Response to Transportation Improvement Policies," in *Transportation and Mobility in an Era of Transition*, ed. G.R.M. Jansen, P. Nijkamp, and C. Ruijgrok (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1985).

7. Sam Bass Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs* (New York: Aetheneum, 1962); David E. Boyce, et al., *Impact of Rapid Transit on Suburban Residential Property Values and Land Development*, prepared for U.S. Department of Treasury, Office of the Secretary (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1972); Robert Cervero, "Light Rail Transit and Urban Development," *Journal of the American Planning Association* (Spring 1984).

8. Robert Knight and Lisa Trygg, *Land Use Impacts of Rapid Transit: Implications of Recent Experience*, prepared for U.S. Department of Treasury, Office of the Secretary (San Francisco: De Leuw, Cather & Company, 1977).

9. Melvin W. Webber, "The BART Experience—What Have We Learned?," *The Public Interest* 45 (Fall 1976).

10. Boris S. Pushkarev and Jeffrey Zupan, *Public Transportation and Land Use Policy* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1977); Robert Cervero, *America's Urban Centers: A Study of the Land Use Transportation Link* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

11. Doug Kelbough, ed., *The Pedestrian Pockets Book* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989).

Form Follows Freeways

Thomas Lollini, AIA

Marin County is presently in the midst of a three-pronged offensive in its battle to manage growth: the update of the 1982 countywide Plan; the creation of a state-mandated Congestion Management Program; and reconsideration of the 101 Corridor Transportation Action Plan (which failed miserably at the ballot box last November after seven years of planning). Current rearguard actions include: a water hook-up moratorium for most of the county; local General Plan and zoning ordinance revisions that reduce densities and limit the size of homes; skirmishes over infrastructure improvements deemed to be growth-inducing, such as water supply or sewer capacity expansion; and neighborhood struggles over individual projects throughout the county. Meanwhile, Marin's aggressive no-growth policies have accelerated the pace of development northward along Highway 101 into Sonoma county.

These are merely the latest assaults in the growth struggle. Beginning with the Freeway Wars of the 1960s, the county halted plans to open its central and coastal sections to development. In 1972, through a document passionately titled *Can the Last Place Last?*, Marin radically altered development policies to reduce the sprawl of bedroom communities for San Francisco and to preserve the county's quality of life. As a result, 88 percent of the county's land mass is now preserved as permanent open space or protected agricultural lands.[1]

Today, few doubt the wisdom of preserving the rural character and natural splendor of west Marin, or the aggressive 'open space' campaign to preserve the ridges that visually separate Marin's chain of communities clustered along Highway 101. Indeed, 17 percent of the region's residents want to live in Marin County, though only 4 percent actually do.[2] The lines of conflict have long since shifted to the city-centered corridor where each undeveloped parcel presents a new opportunity to do battle over the 'quality of life'. *An examination of the county's evolution under growth management reveals significant patterns of transformation in spite of the efforts to contain it. Many aspects of this transformation reflect neither the needs of the community nor the goals of growth-control advocates.*

During the 1970s, the county's population increased less than 7 percent; however, the number of registered vehicles grew five times as fast. Housing costs skyrocketed from an average sale price of $37,000 in 1970 to $168,500 in 1980, requiring most new households to send two wage earners to work each morning.[3] The resulting increase in traffic congestion meant more people spent more time on the road and less time in their communities. The rapid increase in household formation during the 1970s—with fewer people per household—presented yet another conundrum to planners: *The number of households in Marin had increased three times faster than the population!* Furthermore, the homes were increasing in size to reflect the restricted market and escalating land values, while the number of people per household was shrinking. The rapid growth of the 1960s was slowed, but the apparent pace of change had not.

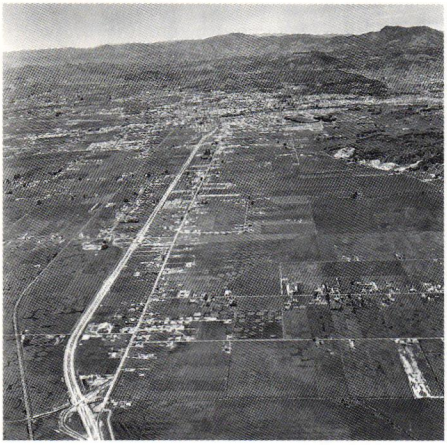
The 1980s presented a new issue: *Proposition 13* moved revenue considerations to the forefront of planning strategy. Clearly, or so it seemed, less residential development and more commercial development was needed. Marin's role as a bedroom community persisted, however, since housing prices accelerated far beyond the means of local wage earners (in 1980, only 2 percent of the county's housing was affordable to the majority of its work force).[4] While the county's residents were becoming increasingly affluent (mean household income rose 25 percent between 1980 and 1990), the average cost of a home had risen over 130 percent.[5]

During the 1980s, Marin's human population grew by a mere 3.4 percent, the number of housholds by 10.8 percent, *and the automobile population by 18 percent, or more than five times as fast as people for the second decade in a row.* [6] Eighty percent of this population increase was attributable to births. Housing affordability had become a self-cancelling phrase as the average sale price of a single-family home soared to $360,000. Reflecting the emphasis on commercial land uses, job growth in the county was substantial compared to population growth (28.3 percent versus 3.4 percent).[7] Most of the new jobs paid well below the county's median income, forcing nearly half of these workers to find housing in outlying, less expensive counties. *Thus, 22,000 new jobs brought almost 11,000 new inbound commuters.*[8] The lack of an effective local transit system requires most local commuters to drive. After twenty years of growth management, Marin now exports 63 percent of its employed residents to jobs in other parts of the region (the regional average is 23 percent) and imports 25 percent of its workforce (third-highest in the region).

The trends continue. Planned residential densities are nearly one-third of existing densities.[9] As residential densities are reduced, the size of the homes increases. Thus, the visual impression of 'massive' growth remains. New five-thousand-square-foot homes with five-car garages are not uncommon in southern Marin. In some communities, maids quarters meet state-mandated requirements for affordable housing. Novato, in search of its fair share of available tax revenues, recently approved a major regional shopping mall to be built in the midst of open land along Highway 101. More shoppers and in-bound commuters will hit the roads. Sonoma has now become Marin's bedroom community, while Marin continues to evolve as the most affluent bedroom community in the nation.

The unintended consequences of growth management policies are becoming ever more apparent. Former summer cottages are demolished to make way for the mansions of the nouveau riche. Ten years of auto-oriented commercial sprawl along the Highway 101 corridor proceeds unabated, blurring the distinction between one community and the next. Traffic congestion worsens, increasing the personal strain of economic and social survival among an increasingly affluent population. Many are now convinced that stopping everything is the best way to preserve what remains.

Preservation of the human and social qualities of life in Marin has fared poorly in spite of and perhaps because of the efforts to manage growth. Marin County's precedent-setting strategies have merely served to deflect or mutate the local impacts of regional and statewide trends. *The real and perceived deterioration in Marin's quality of life is not a result of growth per se. It is the collateral effect of the manner in which it has grown.* In an era of shrinking real income, expensive housing and low-wage jobs only exacerbate the problem. Few people have the time to know their neighbors or the possibility of walking out the door to run an errand, see a movie, or enjoy a meal at a local restaurant. Public transit is only useful to those who work a nine-to-



Looking north along Highway 101 toward Santa Rosa. Courtesy of Pacific Aerial Surveys. Constrained growth in Marin County has accelerated the pace of growth northward into Sonoma. Land along the freeway is the first to go, blurring the distinction between communities.

five job in San Francisco. Perhaps the time has come to stop planning the built environment as if cars were its most important inhabitants and start planning for people.

The toolbox for growth management expands with each new wave of change, but the persistent forces of societal evolution continue to elude containment. *The inevitability of local change due to forces beyond local control suggests that working with these pressures rather than against them may be a wiser course of action.*

If the number of people per household is decreasing, shouldn't we be building smaller residences? If rental units are more affordable to our work force, shouldn't we be building apartments? *Or will we continue to import our labor and export our landed gentry like some modern version of a feudal city-state?*

With traffic and transportation issues at the forefront of the politics of growth, the state has mandated counties like Marin to develop congestion management programs that link land-use planning and the pace of development to the capacity of the local transportation systems. Since 95 percent of state transportation funding goes to deferred maintenance, and local governments lack financial resources, the pattern of growth may continue to be defined by our existing network of roads. California will continue to absorb expansion through sprawl with all its frightening social and environmental consequences.

The fundamental issue is *how* we live rather than *where* we live. To create the proper political climate for change, a broader public understanding of the linkage between transportation systems, land-use patterns, and lifestyle is needed.

For the past several decades, architects have struggled with the challenge of designing for people while accommodating the functional demands of the automobile, which has led to the tongue-in-cheek expression "form follows parking." *Californians now face a profound choice in planning their future: whether the form and quality of our built environment—where and how we live, work, and play—will continue to be determined by the requirements of the automobile or by the evolving social and economic needs of people. California's future hangs in the balance.*

Notes

1. *Land Use Alternatives Report* (San Rafael: Marin County Planning Department, 1990); *Congestion Management Databook #1: Regional Summary* (Oakland: Metropolitan Transportation Commission, 1991).

2. San Francisco Chronicle Poll by Mike Baldassare and Associates of Irvine, Ca., Field Research by Discovery Research, as reported in Frank Viviano, "Where People Would Like to Live," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 1990.

3. *Marin Countywide Plan* (San Rafael: Marin County Planning Department, 1982); Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1980 (Washington, D.C., 1980).

4. *Fitting In* (San Rafael: Ecumenical Association for Housing, 1982).

5. *Projections 90* (Oakland: Association of Bay Area Governments, 1989).

6. *Room Enough: Housing and Open Space in the Bay Area*, Report of the Housing/Greenbelt Program of the People for Open Space (San Francisco: Greenbelt Alliance, 1983).

7. Ibid.

8. *Projections 90*.

9. *Room Enough*.

The Qualities of Growth

Peter Calthorpe, AIA

People always argue about growth: where, how much, what type, what density, and if it is really necessary at all. Sprawl is bad, infill is good (if it is not in our neighborhood), new towns destroy open space, master-planned communities are sterile, and urban redevelopment is fine for 'other people'. It is true, we have been doing a terrible job of building our cities, suburbs, and new growth areas. Our patterns of growth are dysfunctional regardless of location or type. The problem of growth is not to be solved by limiting it in scope or location: it must be solved by rethinking the nature and quality of growth itself, in every context. We need to start creating real neighborhoods rather than subdivisions, urban quarters rather than projects, diverse communities rather than segregated master plans, quite simply, towns rather than sprawl.

The pedestrian is the catalyst that makes the essential qualities of towns—diversity, center, edge, and common ground—meaningful and that creates the place and the time for casual encounters, the connections and integration of diverse communities. Without the pedestrian, the areas that make up a town's common ground—its parks, streets, squares, and plazas—become a useless obstruction to the car. The pedestrian is the lost measure of a community, setting the scale for center and edge, without whom an area's focus can be easily disaggregated—commercial from civic—and decentralized into distant chain store destinations and government centers.

A natural sense of edge, limits, and identity evaporates as sprawl distances unique landmarks and open space. The qualities of place are easily blurred by the speed at which we move and the isolation we feel in the car. Although pedestrians will not displace the car anytime soon, their absence in our thinking and planning is the fundamental source of failure in our infill and new growth areas. To plan as if there were pedestrians would potentially allow kids, elderly people, and others to walk again. To plan as if there were pedestrians will turn suburbs into towns, projects into neighborhoods, and networks into communities.

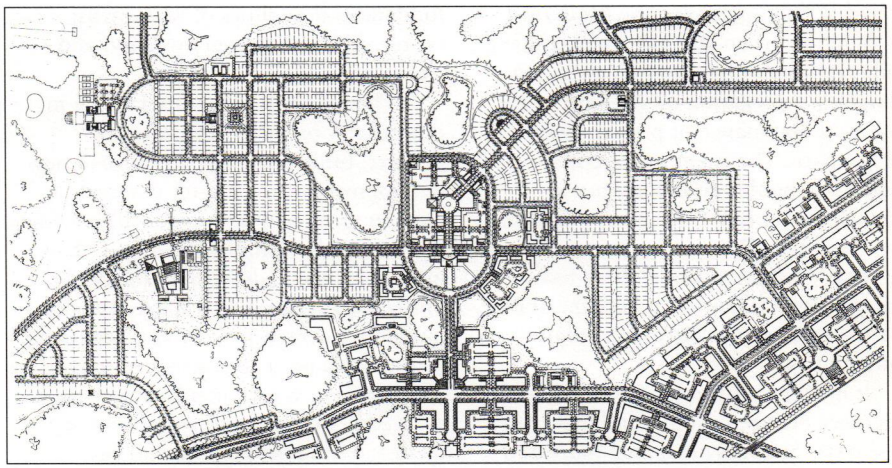
A region with a high growth demand has several fundamental development choices: let the towns and suburbs surrounding the metropolitan center balloon out until they become one continuous mass, attempt to accommodate growth in redevelopment and infill locations, plan new towns in reasonable transit proximity to the city center, or try to limit overall growth. Limiting growth often spreads development into remote areas more receptive to piecemeal projects, increasing commuting distances and creating well known hopscotch land-use patterns. Infill and redevelopment should always be a part of a region's growth policy, but to expect such sites to absorb the majority of new development is often unrealistic. This is partly because the number of sites is often too small to accommodate large numbers and partly because the time needed to develop such sensitive sites is sometimes painstakingly long. Allowing the spread of existing suburbs and towns is the most common strategy, and it has the most common results: sprawl, traffic, and a loss of

identity for what may have been distinct neighborhoods, villages, and towns.

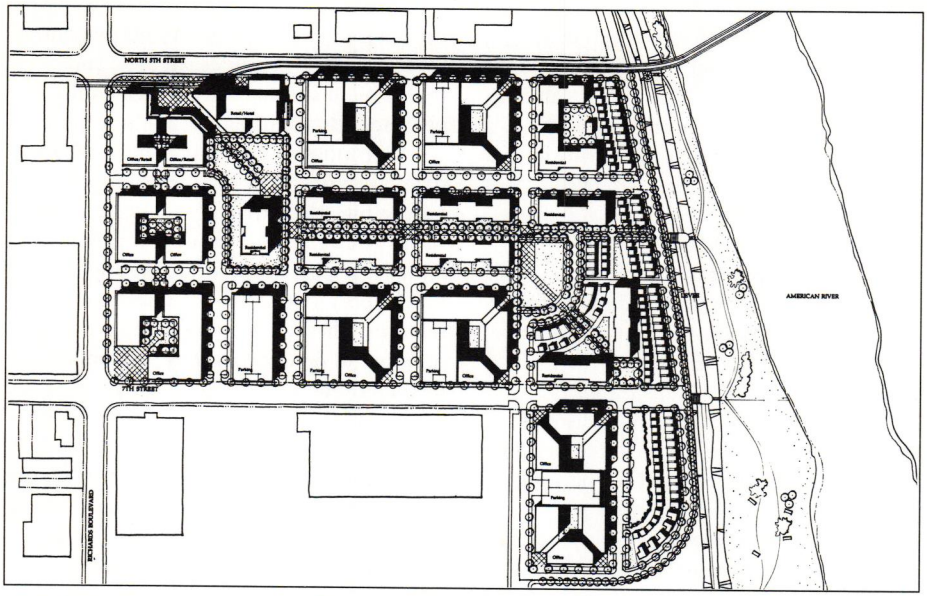
New towns, if planned well, can help structure the metropolitan region by absorbing growth, supporting transit, and creating greenbelts. If they are truly transit-oriented, they can relieve the regional highway system, improve air quality, and support an often under-utilized rail or bus system. Time and time again, it has been shown that an effective transit system helps invigorate the downtown of a city. Transit always focuses on the central business district, delivers people—not cars—to the heart of our cities, reduces the need for parking structures, and avoids the need for destructive urban freeway projects. Adding more sprawling suburbs to a metropolitan area increases pressure for more parking and freeways downtown, while competing with the city for jobs and retail activity. Adding transit-oriented new towns as satellites to the city reinforces the city's role as the region's cultural and economic center. New towns must be greenbelted, along with the larger metropolitan region. The two are complementary: without greenbelted new towns, a fast-growing region will continually expand into close-in natural edges and open space. New towns can permanently fix the edge of the older suburbs and towns by absorbing the growth while permanently creating greenbelt buffers.

But modern new towns have a bad name. In Europe, with some notable exceptions, they are sterile and suburban. In America they are sterile, suburban, and, even worse, economic failures for the first twenty years. But the question remains whether these qualities are inherent in new towns or a product of a dysfunctional design philosophy. After all, our favorite cities and towns were all once 'new'. Is it just time that transforms a new town into a diverse and complex city? Or is it the nature of economic forces moving it, the technology and sociology of the time, or the nature of the plan that inhibits or enhances a town's successful maturation? And, if new towns could be better, would they be justified or necessary?

At the turn of the century and during the Great Depression, theories about new towns evolved in several directions. Howard and the Garden Cities movement defined a Luddite vision of small towns built for workers, surrounded by a greenbelt, and thus combining the best of city and country. These towns were



Lexington Park, Polk County, Florida, is a 10,000 acre new town with a strong town character and sensitivity to the environment. Calthorpe Associates.

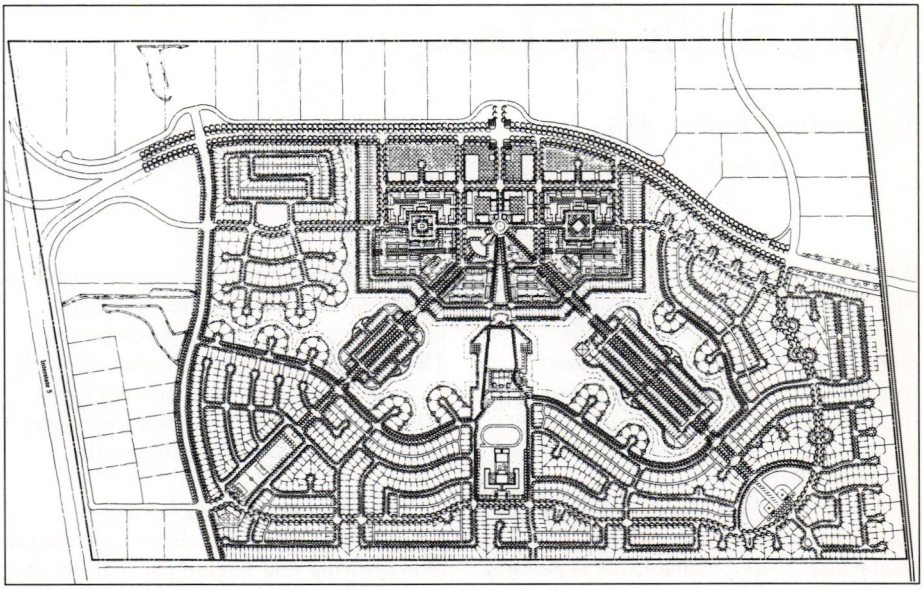


Capitol River Park, Sacramento, California, is a 51 acre mixed-use downtown redevelopment masterplan. Calthorpe Associates.

formulated around rail stations and formally configured with a combination of the Romantic and Beaux Arts urban traditions, resulting in powerful civic spaces surrounded by village-scaled neighborhoods. In the same period, Garnier developed the first Modernist approach to town planning, segregating industry and freeing buildings from the street. During the depression, Le Corbusier and Wright expanded the Modernist vision in the urban and suburban context while retaining fundamental Modernist principles: segregation of use, love of the auto, and dominance of private over public space. The street as the community's habitable common ground disintegrated. Even in the most progressive of the post-World War II new towns, these basic Modernist postulates have compromised, if not destroyed, the ability of the area to evolve into vital urban communities.

It is often hard to pin down the difference between suburb and 'new town' these days. Suburbs are acting more and more like new towns: they offer jobs, retail establishments, recreation facilities, and a diverse population. They also have the placeless quality of most new towns. And, when you study the planning procedures required of suburban 'master-planned communities' and 'specific area plans', they resemble intentional new towns in scale, effort, and conception. But neither are real towns and probably never will be. Suburbs lack, as do many of the so-called modern new towns, the fundamental qualities of real towns: center, edge, integrated diversity, and clear public space.

These four qualities are lacking in our growth patterns, regardless of context. Infill urban sites, suburban new development areas, master-planned communities, and new towns all fail when planned without these qualities. Urban infill often succeeds because the qualities of diversity, clear public space, and a qualitative center preexist and need only be honored, not necessarily created. Nevertheless, we see many projects that succeed in destroying these preexisting qualities. Modern suburbs and new towns clearly lack a real center, definitive edges, or significant common ground.



Laguna West, Sacramento, California, is an 800 acre mixed-use community. It is a more town-like suburban development: compact, mixed use and oriented to the pedestrian. Calthorpe Associates.

They have diversity in use and user, but the diversity of these elements is segregated by the car. They offer none of the casual and spontaneous interaction that creates vital neighborhoods, quarters, or towns.

We should be building 'new towns' in all growth areas: infill, suburbs, and satellites. In each context the quality of development should follow the same town-like principles: housing for a diverse population, a full mix of uses, walkable streets, positive public space, integrated civic and commercial centers, transit orientation, and accessible open space. For urban infill, such development can become 'new town in town' designs for large parcels such as Mission Bay in San Francisco or the Southern Pacific site in Sacramento. For smaller parcels in existing urban neighborhoods, the task is to complete the mix of a community while honoring the unique qualities of the place. For suburban sites, lower-density, mixed-use neighborhoods can be developed according to similar principles. These suburban sites are fundamentally the same as new towns, except for the fact that they are smaller, lack the capacity for major greenbelts, and must respond to the idiosyncratic qualities of the surrounding community. Far from being blank slates, these suburban infill sites sometimes offer rich histories on which to build or debilitating sprawl to overcome.

Disaggregated sprawl is destructive under all conditions, whether it be infill, suburban growth, or new towns. Projects that are diverse, centered, and walkable are useful in all three areas. The specific nature of a metropolitan region will dictate how many and which of these growth area types are necessary and useful. Regions with a very slow rate of growth may only need incremental infill. Regions with high growth and much undeveloped suburban land may need urban infill and new suburban projects. Other regions may need development in all three areas, including new towns, to absorb massive growth without destroying the identity of existing small towns and urban centers. The quality of development we allow, not necessarily its location or size, is the principal problem and opportunity of growth.

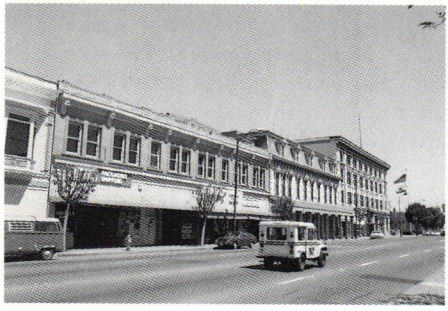
Watsonville on Edge

Sigrid Miller Pollin, AIA

When John Steinbeck lived in neighboring Salinas, Watsonville was one of his haunts. His 1936 novel entitled *In Dubious Battle* is based on the bitter struggles between pickers and growers in the apple orchards of the Pajaro Valley, the agricultural region in which Watsonville is located.[1]

Since the 1960s, however, the issues that have been the source of conflict have broadened. Today, Watsonville is perhaps best known for the protracted 1985 strike at Watsonville Canning and the Richard Shaw plant, two local frozen vegetable packers. The strike ended in a stalemate, with labor forced to accept lower wages but protecting union benefits.

The packing plant strike culminated this year when the largest packer in town, Green Giant (which is owned by a London-based transnational corporation called Grand Metropolitan, Inc.) shifted the bulk of its operation out of Watsonville and into Mexico in search of still lower labor costs. With this, a new threat to Watsonville's very continuation as an agricultural community has emerged. The issues now involve land use and real estate values. The present situation is unique in that an alliance between environmentalists and labor has formed to resist the encroachment of real estate development. The question of whether Watsonville will become yet another homogenized suburban development or sustain itself as an agricultural community hangs in the balance.



Downtown Main Street, Watsonville, California.

Watsonville has long been an agricultural center. The climate is ideal for crop growing year round, particularly row crops like strawberries, celery, lettuce, and broccoli. The soil of the valley is rich, though now inundated with pesticides. An afternoon fog typically protects crops from the most intense rays of the sun's daily cycle. On the other hand, it is not difficult to understand why Watsonville has also become increasingly attractive to real estate developers. Among the real estate values that determine this attraction to a longtime agricultural region, Watsonville lies twenty minutes' drive from Santa Cruz near the Pacific coast, and only a one-hour commute to San Jose. The air is clean by California standards. And, land zoned as Residential will fetch up to twenty-five times the dollar amount of land zoned for agricultural use.

Strawberry Field (Row Crops).

Martinelli's Cider Plant.

Historically, the city has experienced significant shifts in agricultural land use. A glance at the side lot of the well-known Martinelli Cider facility reveals stacks of apple packing crates shipped by Lukrich,

Lukrich Apple Packing Crates.

a local distributor of Yugoslav origin. Lukrich apple crates are a vivid reminder of the various waves of immigrants that have shaped Watsonville's land use. Since the area was inhabited by the Native American Costonoan tribe, various ethnic groups have built their communities around the valley's rich resources. The Costonoan people found the landscape so replete with food-bearing bushes and shrubs that they were able to live off the land without having to cultivate it, but they increased its productivity by means of 'torch technology', which entailed selective burning of areas to promote the growth of vegetation. In the mid-eighteenth century, Spanish ranchers moved in and used the land for cattle raising. They circumscribed large grazing areas with 'living fences', long rows of tall trees that defined land ownership. The *caballeria* was the Spanish measurement of land area: the acreage required to feed one horse.[2] In the mid-1800s, commercial agriculture began to gain ground in this area, and by the 1890s, most cattle ranches had been subdivided and converted into grain farms.

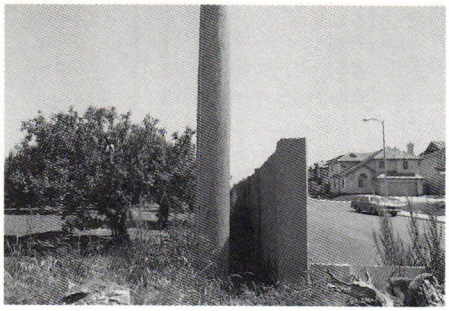
In 1899, Claus Spreckles, an agricultural speculator who had made his fortune growing sugar cane in Hawaii, saw in Watsonville the opportunity to make another fortune in the fledgling sugar beet industry. But sugar beets did not last long in Watsonville either. Following a pricing dispute with Spreckles, local growers converted their beet fields to apple orchards.[3] By the 1880s, Yugoslavian immigrants worked and later owned the majority of Watsonville's apple orchards, prompting Jack London to dub the city 'Little Dalmatia'.[4]

In 1929 the refrigerated rail car led to yet another shift from orchards to row crops. Growers recruited immigrant workers from China, Japan, the Philippines, and Mexico for the labor-intensive harvesting of these crops. By the end of

Apple Orchard, Watsonville, California.

World War II, row crops were clearly as profitable as apples had been, and were even on the rise.

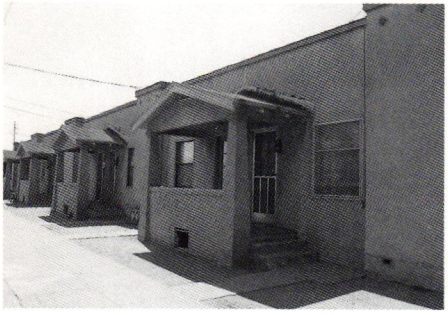
At present, the harvesting, packing, and processing of strawberries, celery, lettuce, and broccoli still make up the economic backbone of Watsonville with its 12,500 acres of land zoned for agriculture. The majority of agricultural



Suburban housing development meeting the edge of an apple orchard.

workers there are Mexican. Throughout the city's history, the shifts in its economic base have turned on agricultural production. But now, real estate development could cover prime agricultural land with buildings, especially single-family housing tracts. This result is by no means a foregone conclusion, but the community is being challenged to resist market forces in order to retain Watsonville's distinction as an important agricultural center.

A great irony in the current land use conflict is that Watsonville *as an agricultural community* needs more housing.

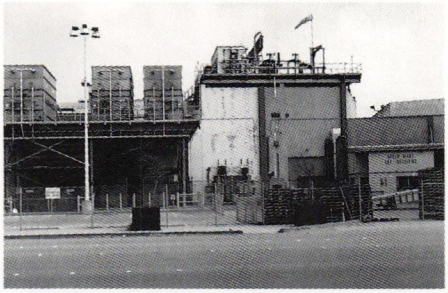


Worker Housing, Downtown Watsonville.

While real estate developers have set their sights on the area with an eye to the upscale commuter market, the working community of Watsonville lacks sufficient affordable housing. Yet land prices have made affordable housing more and more scarce, with the exception of 'inclusionary units' in mixed-income housing developments. The city's inclusionary housing policy, which provides that 25 percent of all units be "affordable," will generate too few units to satisfy the current affordable housing shortfall. These units, though much in demand, are affordable for moderate income groups, but not for low-income agricultural workers.

The transition from broccoli to bedrooms looms on the horizon: Watsonville could increasingly resemble the kind of homogenized suburb that has already grown up in the nearby Santa Clara Valley. It is notable that today, the very concept of 'growth' in California is applied not to the 'growth' of agricultural lands, but rather to commercial, residential, and industrial development. Debates about growth in this city elicit strong responses beyond the usual planning questions that consider whether or not the city's general plan should reinforce an underlying policy of 'no growth', 'slow growth', or 'pro-growth'. This is because here, if growth means suburban expansion, it could also mean slow death for Watsonville as a distinctly agricultural community. Some residents argue that probably the city should never have been built in the valley in the first place, that more cities like Watsonville should have been built in California's foothills, leaving the valleys for agriculture as was the case in many European examples. Nevertheless, the city occupies the valley with it's intimately-scaled historic Main Street holding considerable promise for infill architecture and retrofitting. The downtown is architecturally fragile, however, particularly after the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake dealt a severe blow to largely

Norcal Crosetti Foods, Inc.



The Green Giant Plant.

unreinforced masonry structures. Near Main Street stand low-slung blocks of packing and processing plants like the Norcal Crosetti plant and the Green Giant plant. The jobs that these plants provide are low paying, but they are jobs. The working community has a great stake in preserving and improving them for the future.

The saga of the apple orchards described by Steinbeck remains unfinished. The Franich apple orchard lying just outside Watsonville proper in Santa Cruz County is a case in point, one that has already seen three decades of activity that has involved many of the different players in the local land use debate. In the 1960s, the city of Watsonville ran a sewer line out to this site on its southeastern border. With the infrastructure in place, the property became—from the owner's point of view—ripe for development. The issues surrounding the controversial conversion of this 78-acre parcel of property from apples to houses has involved both city and county agencies, the Local Agency Formation Commission (LAFCO), the community, and the property owner. Following the formation of this new 'sewer district' the city council supported the desire for housing development and agreed to annex the orchard property in order to institute its rezoning from agricultural to residential land use. The County of Santa Cruz, backed by the growth restricting Measure J, strongly advocated the preservation of agricultural lands. The county managed to deflect both annexation and housing development. Position lines were drawn within the community, with large land owners supporting the rezoning and workers

Moribund Apple orchard on the Franich Property.

Strawberry Fields, Watsonville, California.

whose jobs depended upon the preservation of the agricultural lands aligned for the first time with environmentalists. LAFCO initially backed the annexation, but reversed its position after a lawsuit filed by the Research Defense Fund revealed a lack of sufficient formal findings to justify annexation.

A lengthy Environmental Impact Report on the property is currently nearing completion. County supervisors are looking to city planners for the establishment of growth guidelines that will encourage infill growth within the city limits as well as expanding housing stock toward the northern foothills, thereby avoiding development of the agricultural zones. Mr. Franich is still planning to submit his property to parcelling for upscale housing, and, in the meantime, most of the orchard lies dormant: no apples and no houses.

In 1871, the single land tax advocate Henry George wrote that "California is not a country of farms, but a country of plantations and estates. Agriculture is a speculation."[5] The deadlock between sound, sustainable, long-term planning for a unique community and real estate speculation that produces look-alike bedroom communities is illustrated by the Franich case. Momentarily, Santa Cruz County, the working community of Watsonville, and environmentalists have won a bittersweet victory. But it is only one victory in a dubious battle, an unfinished struggle to preserve the agricultural future of Watsonville.

Notes

1. John Steinbeck, *In Dubious Battle* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1936).
2. Burton L. Gordon, *Monterey Bay Area: Natural History and Cultural Imprints* (Pacific Grove, Ca.: The Boxwood Press, 1977).
3. Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Santa Barbara. Ca.: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1971).
4. Jack London, *Valley of the Moon* (Los Angeles: David Rejl, 1988).
5. McWilliams, *Factories*, 24.

Growth Management and Design Review: Is Older Better?

Arthur E. Stamps III, Ph.D., AIA

As of last count, there were at least 26 different growth management techniques in use in California.[1] This article addresses two of those techniques: design review and historical conservation. Both techniques are used extensively throughout the United States[2] as well as in California. When the intent of design review is to ensure that new projects harmonize with, fit into, or reflect previously existing conditions, the *status quo* and the *status quo ante* become *de facto* aesthetic standards, and the two techniques of design review and historical conservation tend to merge.[3]

For individual owners and designers, such conservation-oriented design review imposes a substantial restriction on their freedom of expression;[4] for social and ethnic groups that are newcomers to a geographical area, conservation-oriented design review will necessarily inhibit the architectural expression of a new community;[5] for all members of the design community (as well as the twenty million more people who are expected to join California's population in the next two decades), the process of conservation-oriented design review will impose both costs and delays. Consequently, it would seem prudent to determine whether or not the public interest is in fact best served by a growth management technique that merges conservation with design review.

In this article it is assumed that the public interest is represented in design review only if that review increases (or at least maintains) the visual appeal of a city. Moreover, it is assumed that the degree of visual appeal should be determined by the citizens of the city. Thus, in order to gauge the public interest, it would be necessary to find out if people really do prefer the types of buildings required by design reviewers.

San Francisco provides a case in point. In the last two decades, an increasing number of preservation requirements have been added to the city planning code; correspondingly, the public has demonstrated a very strong interest in high-rise design.[6] Currently, the design of high-rise offices is controlled by an annual architectural competition.[7] Although the deliberations of the competition jury are secret, the director of planning has gone on record stating that the new buildings should exhibit a "San Francisco Style." Since there was so much interest in high-rise design, we decided to investigate public preferences for high-rise buildings in San Francisco. The primary goal was to find out which building style the people preferred. Two other goals were added to address concerns of other groups: architects expressed concern that the general public would prefer boring, 'safe' projects, and social scientists were concerned that aesthetic preferences would be too idiosyncratic or group-dependent to form the consensus needed to define the public interest.

In the first experiment, a random sample of citizens was asked to compare and evaluate images of three styles of high-rise buildings: buildings that appeared to have a San Francisco Style, plain, rectangular International Style

buildings, and newer, postmodern buildings.[8] Statistical analysis indicated that, overall, the people sampled preferred the postmodern buildings over the other two styles. In other words, for high-rise buildings in San Francisco, older was not better. More detailed analysis revealed that a respondent's political orientation was related to architectural taste: People with liberal political affiliations preferred the old brick buildings over the other two styles, while people with conservative political orientations preferred the International Style buildings. In the

Old, San Francisco Style.

second experiment, we asked another random sample of citizens to compare projects submitted to one of the annual design competitions. The citizens again preferred postmodern designs over designs featuring historical references, while the planners went the other way.

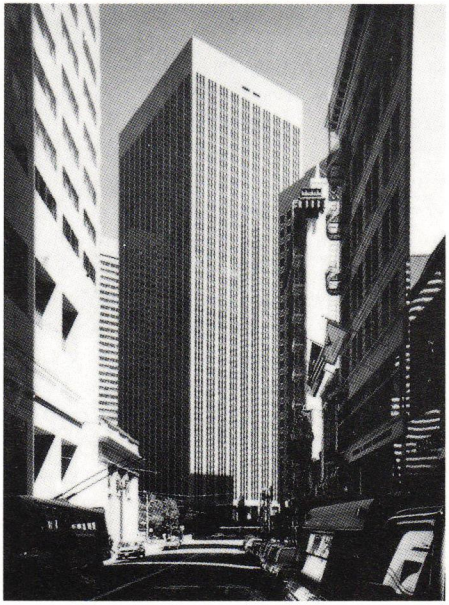
These results have several implications for design reviewers. First, there was substantial consensus on the visual merits of the projects; second, the general public was not afraid of new building styles; and third, insofar as design review of high-rise buildings in San Francisco is based on the premise that older is better, the review process represented the taste of a political faction and not the public.

The results also suggest a possible means of avoiding factional results in design review: using research to find out if there is a consensus about the merits of projects during the schematic design phase. If there is a strong consensus, then the design review recommendations would have a strong political underpinning. If, on the other hand, different social groups reveal different preferences, then consideration should be given to the trade-off between presenting a unified visual image of a city and reflecting the dynamic nature of a polycultural community.

Notes

1. Irving Schiffman, *Alternative Techniques for Managing Growth* (Berkeley: University of California, Institute of Governmental Studies, 1989).

2. Christopher Duerksen, *Aesthetics and Land-Use Controls: Beyond Ecology and*



Plain, International Style.

New, Postmodern Style.

Economics, PAS Report 399 (Chicago: American Planning Association, 1986).

3. Julia Trilling, "Architecture: A Future That Looks Like the Past," *The Atlantic* 256 , no. 1 (July 1985).

4. Samuel Poole, "Architectural Appearance Review Regulations and the First Amendment: The Good, the Bad, and the Consensus Ugly," *The Urban Lawyer* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1987).

5. See Lian Hurst Mann, "Maquiladora Modernism: Una Herida Abierta," *Architecture California* 13, no. 1 (February 1991).

6. Limitations on high rise construction were on five local ballots between 1971 and 1986. See John Jacobs and Gerald Adams, "Inner Circles: How Money and Politics Shape San Francisco's Skyline," *San Francisco Examiner*, Supplement, 19 June 1986.

7. Hamid Shirvani, *Beyond Public Architecture: Strategies for Design Evaluation* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1990), 13-17.

8. Arthur Stamps, "Public Preferences for High Rise Buildings: Stylistic and Demographic Effects," *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 72 (1991).

Taking Los Angeles Seriously: Time and Space in the Postmodern City

Michael Dear

The state of theory, now and from now on, isn't it California? And even Southern California?[1]
Jacques Derrida

Los Angeles Exceptionalism

The first and perhaps most likely response to the title of this essay is: Why? *Why* take Los Angeles seriously? In the past, Los Angeles has typically been viewed as an exception to the trajectories of metropolitan development in the United States. Located on the continent's southwest frontier, the city tends to conjure up visions of infinite suburban sprawl, inconsequential architecture, freeways, sun, surf, and smog. These images have been encouraged and exaggerated by the movies and television that Hollywood has sold to the world.

In many ways, Los Angeles is different from other cities. For instance, it stands in stark contrast to Chicago, the city that has universally been regarded as the prototypical industrial metropolis. For many decades, urbanists have analyzed the cities of the world according to precepts of the Chicago School.

There is, however, a deep problem with these exceptionalist narratives of Los Angeles. They render much of what happens in the city as merely illustrative, a series of quirky set-pieces, even staged performance opportunities. Fortunately, during the past decade, increasing scholarly attention has been directed toward the five-county region that comprises Los Angeles. As the volume of evidence accumulates, new challenges are being offered to our assumptions and predictions concerning future urban growth. The dominance of the Chicago model is being challenged by what may be an emergent Los Angeles School. The Los Angeles prototype—with its emphasis on multicentered, dispersed patterns of low-density growth—may become the new paradigm of metropolitan development. In appearance at least, Los Angeles bears a strong resemblance to other emerging 'world cities', such as Mexico City and São Paulo, as well as to other fast-growing urban centers in the United States, such as Atlanta.

In terms of population size, Los Angeles is now the second-largest metropolitan region in America, and eleventh in the world. It is expected to have more than 14 million people by the year 2000. The five-county region (Los Angeles, Ventura, San Bernardino, Riverside, and Orange), encompassing approximately a sixty-mile circle centered on downtown Los Angeles, comprises only 5 percent of California's total land area. Yet this circle includes more than half the state's population and personal income. It has 56 percent of the international trade, and 58 percent of the headquarters of the one hundred largest companies based in California. The gross product per person in the sixty-mile circle ranks it as fourth in the world. The region is also known for its extraordinary consumption patterns. In Los Angeles alone, more than 2000 cars are sold daily, including 20 percent of all American Rolls Royce registrations and 70 percent of all California registrations.

Irrespective of the merits of a putative Los Angeles School, my working hypothesis is that something new and

peculiar is manifest in southern California's urbanism. Los Angeles may in fact be the quintessential postmodern city. To argue this, let me first make some brief remarks about what I mean by a postmodern urbanism, and then turn my attention to Los Angeles.

Postmodern Urbanism

The term *postmodernism* has been used in a multitude of ways, and has begun to lose all meaning. But this should not obscure the fact that the postmodern turn has already dramatically influenced the conduct of human inquiry. Three principal meanings of postmodernism have continuing relevance: postmodernism as style, epoch, and method.[2]

Postmodernism as style has its origins in literature and the arts, from whence it spread to architecture. While most cities are now tainted (or blessed) by examples of postmodern architecture, the movement was generally received with scepticism. Some referred to it disparagingly as 'memory architecture', and its obituaries were being written almost as soon as it had surfaced. One reason it has been so easy to dismiss postmodernism in architecture is because very few architects attempted to link their stylistic interventions with the deeper philosophical currents of postmodernity. Postmodern architecture could thus easily be dismissed exclusively on the grounds of aesthetics.

The concept of *postmodernism as epoch* is based on the contention that there has been some kind of 'radical break' with past trends, that the sum of the new is sufficient to define a separable culture with identifiable historical limits. The focal problem with this concept is the difficulty of theorizing contemporaneity: how do we begin to make sense of an infinity of overlapping realities? Obviously, the simultaneous appearance of objects in time and space need not imply a causal relationship; indeed, landscapes are much more likely to comprise an anachronistic *mélange* of obsolete, current, and newly-emergent social artifacts. How can we read such cityscapes as the texts of cultural change? Fredric Jameson has made an audacious claim that old systems of social organization and perception have been replaced by a postmodern *hyperspace*. According to Jameson, space and time have been stretched to accommodate the multinational global organizations of advanced capitalism in ways we can so far only dimly perceive.[3]

Thirdly, *postmodernism as method* encompasses a set of perspectives on that most pressing intellectual dilemma: that rationalism has failed both as an ideal and as a practical guide for thought and social action, and that henceforth, we have to manage without such Enlightenment desiderata as decisive theoretical argument or self-evident truth. Postmodernism's principal target has been the foundational character of Modernity, its seach for a universal truth. In Lyotard's phrases, postmodernity is openly incredulous in the face of such metanarratives.[4] The postmodern position is that all metanarratives are suspect, that the authority claimed by any single explanation is delusional. In essence, postmodernists assert that the relative merit of one theory over another is ultimately undecidable, and, by extension, attempts to forge intellectual consensus should be resisted.

The deconstruction movement has given further impetus to the collapse of Modernity.[5] Deconstruction has emphasized how language limits thought, how our conceptual orderings do not exist in the nature of things but instead reflect preexisting philosophical systems. These, in turn, contain conscious and unconscious strategies of exclusion and repression, and are rife with internal contradictions and suppressed paradoxes. We can never completely master our

language; its effects inevitably go beyond what we can control. Deconstructionists, therefore, place as much emphasis on what is *absent* from the text as on what is present. There is no way to avoid this paradox: We inevitably fail at the tasks of representation and of deciding between various interpretations of the texts before us (whether they are books or buildings).

Enough time has now passed that we can begin to draw up a balance sheet on the postmodern/deconstruction movements. On the plus side, postmodernity has *enfranchised and empowered* those outside the traditional centers of scholastic authority (especially those beyond the so-called 'hard' sciences); *difference* has been legitimized, no matter what its source (e.g., gender, race, and ethnicity); and, as a consequence, the *hegemony* of existing power centers has been emphatically undermined. Postmodernity, in a word, has been *liberating*. On the negative side, many rue the *loss of rationality*, especially as a basis for individual and collective action; they object to what they perceive as the cacophony or *babel of voices* now crying out to be heard; and they have attacked what they see as the essential *conservatism* of a philosophy that, if it espouses anything at all, seems to embrace an open-ended pluralism.[6]

For myself, I accept that we live in an era of postmodern consciousness. There is no choice in this matter, unless we are prepared to declare ourselves in favor of ignorance or the *status quo*. Consequently, I shall advocate alternative ways of reading the city, incorporating many different subjectivities that portray varying representations of the the same urban experience. A.S. Byatt, in her novel *Possession*, beautifully captures the promise inherent in the postmodern preoccupation: "He had been taught that language was essentially inadequate, that it could never speak what was there, that it only spoke itself....What had happened to him was that the ways in which it *could* be said had become more interesting than the idea that it could not."[7]

Inevitably, then, there will be different ways of seeing and representing. A postmodern sensibility is interested in precisely how the world around us takes on its multiple meanings, and with what consequences. How can we use the precepts of postmodern urbanism to make sense of the multiple realities that comprise Los Angeles?

Understanding Los Angeles

Most world cities have an instantly identifiable signature: think of the boulevards of Paris, the skyscrapers of New York, or the churches of Rome. But Los Angeles appears to be a city without a common narrative, except perhaps an iconography of the bizarre. Twenty years ago, Reyner Banham provided an enduring map of the Los Angeles landscape. To this day, it remains powerful, evocative, and instantly recognizable. He identified four basic "ecologies": surfurbia (the beach cities); the foothills (the privileged enclaves of Beverly Hills, Bel Air, etc., where the financial and topographical contours correspond almost exactly); the plains of Id (the endless central flatlands); and autopia (the freeways, a "complete way of life" to Banham).[8]

For Douglas Suisman, it is not the freeways, but the Los Angeles boulevards that determine the city's overall physical structure. A boulevard is a surface street that: "(1) makes arterial connections on a metropolitan scale; (2) provides a framework for civic and commercial destination; and (3) acts as a filter to adjacent residential neighborhoods." Suisman argues that boulevards do more than establish an organizational pattern; they constitute "the irreducible armature of the city's *public space*" and are charged with social and political significance that cannot be ignored. These

vertebral connectors today form an integral link among the region's municipalities.[9]

For Edward Soja, Los Angeles is a decentered, decentralized metropolis powered by the insistent fragmentation of "postfordism," i.e., an increasingly flexible, disorganized regime of capitalist accumulation. Accompanying this shift is a postmodern consciousness, a cultural and ideological reconfiguration that alters how we experience social being. The center holds, however, because of its function as the urban panopticon: the strategic surveillance point for the state's exercise of social control. Out from the center extends a *mélange* of "wedges" and "citadels," interspersed between corridors that are formed by the boulevards. The consequent urban structure is a complex quilt, enormously fragmented, yet bound to an underlying economic rationality: "With exquisite irony, contemporary Los Angeles has come to resemble more than ever before a gigantic agglomeration of theme parks, a lifespace composed of Disneyworlds."[10]

These three sketches provide differing insights into L.A.'s landscapes. Banham considers the city's overall torso, and recognizes three basic components (surfurbia, plains, and foothills), as well as connecting arteries (freeways). Suisman shifts our gaze away from the principal arteries to the veins that channel everyday life (the boulevards). Soja considers the body-in-context, articulating the links between political economy and postmodern culture to explain fragmentation and social differentiation in Los Angeles.

All three writers maintain a studied detachment from the city, as though a voyeuristic, top-down perspective is needed to discover the rationality inherent in the cityscape. Yet a postmodern sensibility would be willing (even eager) to relinquish the Modernism inherent in these 'objective' representations of the urban text. What would a postmodernism 'from below' reveal?

Postmodernism is about complication. This is manifest in Los Angeles as an intense localization and fragmentation of social process. L.A.'s microgeography is extremely finely grained and variegated. In the manner of Michel de Certeau, the key to its social life lies at the street level, where human beings may be observed in their myriad daily practices.[11] The way to understand Los Angeles, then, is as an *accretion of the local*. There is never a *single reality* to the city (although there have been *singular myths* in the minds of its many observers).

The social heterogeneity and spatial extensiveness of the metropolis have encouraged intense and effective local autonomies. These appear in all walks of life, including politics, work, family, culture, and environment. One important consequence of metropolitan sprawl is the difficulty of formal urban governance. Los Angeles may yet prove to be the harbinger of a new style of decentered politics. The region is split into many separate fiefdoms, with their leaders in constant conflict. The problems of political representation include ongoing disputes between county and city governments, the resurgence of the slow-growth/no-growth movements, and the difficulties associated with the political participation of ethnic and racial minorities. As the region continues to expand geographically, local government is likely to become increasingly remote and less able to respond to grass roots concerns. Consequently, formal and informal, legal and illegal alliances have risen to advance their claims, including those of gays, gangs, feminists, and racial and ethnic groups. They work within the interstices of the formal power structures, which then become increasingly redundant in the everyday lives of alliance members. Localism is especially important in the social construction of individual and social identity in our postmodern society.

Left to their own devices, and encouraged by the rules of politics, elected

officials exercise power within their fiefdoms in an increasingly autocratic and often corrupt manner. And so the bifurcation of formal and informal politics is intensified, to such an extent that the panopticon metaphor adduced by Soja seems strikingly inappropriate. Far from being subjected to an intense central surveillance, Los Angeles seems to operate on the edge of anarchy! It is not for nothing that the Los Angeles City Council has been referred to as a "herd of cats."

In an apparent paradox, the rising preeminence of the local in the postmodern city has been facilitated by the appearance of a global capitalism. The emergence of 'postfordism' has resulted in an accelerated flow of global capital, and an endless search for cheap labor supplies on an international scale.[12] At home, the consequences have been a rapid deindustrialization (especially in the snowbelt), and (re)industrialization (in the sunbelt). Los Angeles, in perhaps a typically postmodern way, is experiencing both of them simultaneously. Within its limits, the city has the vestiges of a major automobile manufacturing industry, as well as the glittering towers of corporate high-techdom. Los Angeles is an 'informational city' with myriad minimum-wage, part-time service industry jobs (e.g., fast food outlets) and a massive informal sector (street vendors on freeway off-ramps, recycling from the backs of trucks, etc.). The globalization of capitalism has connected the local ever more effectively to the worldwide developments of postfordism; what happens in downtown Los Angeles tomorrow may result from yesterday's fluctuations in the local labor markets of the Philippines.[13]

In social terms, Los Angeles can now fairly be characterized as a first world city flourishing atop a third world city. The latter term refers to the burgeoning population either engaged in the 'informal' economy or earning poverty-level wages, which tends to be only marginally housed by conventional standards, or even homeless. The postmodern metropolis is increasingly polarized along class, income, racial, and ethnic lines. The disadvantaged classes are overwhelmingly people of color. Their family lives are increasingly disrupted by the demands of a flexible, disorganized workplace (for example, the pressure on both parents to work, or the need for families to crowd together in order to afford housing). These trends have been aggravated by the strong tendency toward privatism, as well as the practical effects of privatization, that emerged during the Reagan era, and they show little sign of abating in the 1990s.[14]

This acute openness to world trends would probably have been cushioned if it were not for erosion of the linkages—horizontal and vertical—between branches of the state apparatus. At home, the rhetoric of 'less government' and 'more private initiative' reflected government's aversion to dealing with social, economic, and political problems, as has the rise of 'fiscal federalism' (federal transfers to California cities have declined by two-thirds from their 1980 levels). Issues of social reproduction, community, and the public interest have consequently taken a back seat. In effect, governments and populace have colluded in the decline of the commonwealth. Local vulnerabilities have been further exacerbated by the decline of the nation-state after a century of its overarching importance.

The collapse of community is one reason why the postmodern city is increasingly without a credible infrastructure. Crime is rife. The drug culture is recognized as a rational response by gang-members to the absence of mainstream employment. Health care for the poor is nonexistent. The public schools are in a shambles. Homelessness is pandemic in the region. And the welfare system is on the verge of collapse.

The apocalyptic images of the movie *Blade Runner* seem anything but fictitious

on many days of the year in Los Angeles.[15] Air quality in the city is the worst in the country, despite increasingly draconian regulations. The physical expansion of the urbanized area has generated other acute, human-induced environmental crises, especially those connected with urban services such as water supply, toxic waste disposal, and sewage. These problems, together with L.A.'s especially hazardous natural environment (earthquakes, floods, landslides, fires), are proving increasingly intractable as Southern California continues to act as a magnet for development. Although lip service is paid to environmental issues, the survival of nature (in all its forms) is a low priority.

The intense localization, plus the absence of a more conventional public transportation network, make decentralization and diversity possible and even necessary to everyday life. Angelenos daily reinvent their city. For instance, there is no need to go downtown to enjoy the entertainment and cultural events of the postmodern city. There are major theater districts in Pasadena, Hollywood, Long Beach, and Orange County. Art flourishes in Santa Monica, West Hollywood, and other places beyond the downtown. Indeed, downtown Los Angeles is not *the* downtown for the vast majority of the region's population. Attempts have been made to create a regional hub at the focal intersection of four major freeways. However, a large part of today's 'typical' downtown agglomeration of commercial and residential highrise is, as Mike Davis points out, "a perverse monument to United States losses in the global trade war" (which permitted a massive inflow of international capital for speculative real estate investment).[16]

The ability to invent one's own city is exaggerated by the ubiquitous presence of an image industry devoted to fantasy, glamour, and wealth. Known universally as "The Industry" (always capitalized!), the film and televison industry maintains a steady flow of quirky, celebratory images of the city (such as Steve Martin's *L.A. Story*), in which, for example, homeless people are represented as free-wheeling *idiots savants* capable of enriching our lives (*Down and Out in Beverly Hills*). When the darker side of life is allowed to emerge (in any number of cops-and-robbers epics), law and order generally triumph after some honest-to-goodness blood-letting. As in other major cities, Angelenos are encouraged by nightly television news to take a perverse pride in having made it through another day (even if their biggest personal challenge has taken the form of freeway gridlock).

In sum, the analogy that I wish to invoke between postmodern thought and postmodern urbanism is this: The postmodern city is one in which traditional modes of control are evaporating, and no single new rationality has yet appeared as a substitute. In the meantime, emergent forms of economic, social, and political relationships rush to fill the vacuum. It is the localization of these effects that is creating the new geographies of postmodern society—our new time-space fabric.[17]

Taking Los Angeles Seriously

Is Los Angeles the model of twenty-first century urban development? I cannot answer that question definitively. The Chicago model is evidently unsuitable for describing contemporary metropolitan evolution. And Los Angeles can no longer be regarded as an exception to the rule. Los Angeles has always been a relatively decentralized metropolis, especially since the rise of the automobile. Through time, it has become even more powerfully polycentric, a characteristic that is intensified by the region's increasing social, political, and economic polarization. Indeed, the First World/Third World dichotomy is perhaps the principal

signature of L.A.'s emergent urbanism. This dichotomy has been driven by the extraordinary openess of the region's economy to the forces of global postfordism and by the rise of the informal/underclass economy. It has been facilitated by the decline of formal politics and the collapse of the welfare state. The associated proliferation of informal local politics has exaggerated the culture of privatism that was part of the political agenda of the Reagan years. In L.A.'s amazingly variegated microgeography, it is now more than ever possible and necessary for Angelenos to daily reinvent their city.

All this is, for the moment at least, conjecture. I may have pushed L.A.'s prophetic aura beyond decent limits, but few cities are so well-equipped to direct us to the proper questions regarding postmodern urbanism. Bay Area and Borderland urbanization have a lot to learn from postmodern Los Angeles.[18] Architects and other urbanists only need the courage to gaze unflinchingly and without prejudice at its differences. Banham has aptly warned us: "Los Angeles threatens...because it breaks the rules."[19]

Notes

1. Jacques Derrida, as quoted in David Carroll, ed., *The States of Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 63. I am grateful to Derek Gregory for alerting me to this quotation.

2. For further details, see Michael Dear, "Postmodernism and Planning," *Society and Space, Environment and Planning D* 4 (1986): 367-384.

3. Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 1-54.

4. Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Condition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979).

5. David Lehman, *Signs of the Times: Deconstruction and the Fall of Paul de Man* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1991).

6. For negative assessments of postmodernism and deconstruction, see respectively Alix Callinicos, *Against Postmodernism* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990) and John Ellis, *Against Deconstruction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

7. A.S. Byatt, *Possession: A Romance* (New York: Random House, 1990), 513.

8. Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: Architecture of the Four Ecologies* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973).

9. Douglas R. Suisman, *Los Angeles Boulevard* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Forum for Architecture and Urban Design, 1989), 6. Author's emphasis.

10. Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies* (New York: Verso, 1989), 246.

11. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

12. Allen J. Scott, *Metropolis: From Division of Labor to Urban Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

13. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (New York: Verso Press, 1990).

14. Jennifer Wolch, *The Shadow State: Government and Voluntary Sector in Transition* (New York: The Foundation Center, 1990).

15. But Roman Polanski's *Chinatown* and, more recently, Stephen Frears's *The Grifters* capture the essence of L.A. more accurately: a superficial gloss of striking beauty, glowing light, and pastel hues that together conspire to conceal a hideous subculture of malice, mistrust, and mutiny.

16. Davis, *City of Quartz*, 138.

17. The theoretical bases for this argument are examined more fully in Michael Dear, "The Postmodern Challenge: Reconstructing Human Geography," *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers* 13 (1988): 262-274 and Michael Dear, "The Premature Demise of Postmodern Urbanism," *Cultural Anthropology* 6, no. 4, forthcoming. For specific considerations of the rhetoric of city planning in the new urbanism, see Michael Dear, "Privatization and the Rhetoric of Planning Practice," *Society and Space: Environment and Planning D* 7 (1989): 449-462.

18. The case of Orange County has recently been examined by Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since WWII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

19. Banham, *Los Angeles*, 236.

The Paradox of Controls: Charting the Course for Political Involvement

Brian Cearnal, AIA

Santa Barbara is perhaps the birthplace of the slow growth movement in California. Bordered by the Pacific Ocean to the south and the Santa Ynez mountains to the north, this picturesque locale has its own natural geographic constraints. Beyond these, the population has sought to preserve Santa Barbara's unique character over the years through land use constraints. It has one of the oldest architecture review boards in the country, and has steadfastly fought 'Los Angelesation' since the introduction of the automobile in the 1920s. The Santa Barbara chapter of the AIA has traditionally been politically active in the community, and has prided itself over the years in having architects appointed to the various boards and commissions in order to help shape policy for land use.

Recently the city went through a significant general plan update process, in which the local architectural community was actively involved. The chapter held two public workshops and enlisted its members to participate in the entire process from start to finish. At issue were resource constraints and resultant controls to require the community to "live within its resources." The chapter presented a *General Plan Update Report*, in which specific goals and recommendations were proposed.[1] Ultimately, the city council decided that it was in the best interest of the community to put a proposition on the ballot that would create a growth cap. This proposition, known as *Measure E*, became the focus of much debate between the no-growth and pro-growth constituents within the community.

The wording of *Measure E* mandated a commercial growth cap of three million square feet over a period of twenty years. As a charter amendment, it was irrevocable without a vote of the people. Specific square footages were assigned to specific categories (i.e., community priority projects, pending projects, vacant land, etc.). One of its strict provisions was the restriction against moving square footage from one category to another. In the event that a project failed to be approved or built, its allotted square footage would simply be put aside until the end of the twenty-year period. The measure's language was very specific and offered little flexibility. A maximum of 3,000 square feet could be added to a parcel *once* during the twenty-year period, regardless of the parcel or building size, provided it had a building on it. Concern over these provisions, as well as the strong belief that we should not be planning by initiative, moved the Board of the Santa Barbara AIA Chapter to decide to work against the measure.

The community entered into a protracted debate that resulted in severe polarization. The specific issues were lost amid rhetoric and hyperbole. The AIA found itself being labeled as pro-growth and as the developers' frontmen. When the election results came in, the measure passed by 56 percent of the vote. It was not overwhelming but it was nonetheless a mandate. It amounted to a tremendous

loss, however, for the chapter and for our record of political involvement with the growth process, and seemed to leave the stigma of pro-growth on our members.

Traditionally, our strategy as architects has been to oppose any form of control. We are, after all, independent artists nurtured by free enterprise. The idea of rigid control, or no-growth, seems to imply not only creative but potentially severe economic deprivation. Ironically, during this most recent recession and despite *Measure E*, Santa Barbara architects have for the most part prospered, particularly the good ones. One possible explanation of this apparent paradox is that with controls comes desirability and a higher standard of quality that requires a better architecture. If this is the case, then our assumptions about controls may be wrong.

With growth control initiatives like *Measure E* becoming commonplace in California, it is important for chapters as well as the CCAIA to evaluate our political advocacy. I believe, in retrospect, that perhaps the Santa Barbara Chapter of the AIA took the wrong approach. Although I think we were right in opposing the lack of flexibility and the poorly written aspects of this very definitive law, ultimately we needed to find some way to establish the middle ground between the pro-growthers and the no-growthers. As the growth debate intensifies, and the economic/environmental consequences become more acute, the need for an alternative to one of the two extremes of pro-growth and no-growth becomes clear. Architects must come forth as advocates of controls that advance environmental *and* economic sustainability. We must be the proponents not only of quality architecture, but also of a better built environment, not of growth for growth's sake, but of responsible growth that enhances our neighborhoods, strengthens our economies, and makes our communities better places to live. This must be the direction and focus of future political involvement for architects in California. We may even prosper from it.

Notes

1. *Preserving The Character of Santa Barbara: General Plan Update* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Chapter, American Institutes of Architects, 1989).

Growth and City Health

Eric H. Monkkonen

For most of our previous history, cities and towns, large and small, had one fundamental planning goal: growth. And, in the context of the mass migrations to the United States, attaining this goal did not require a great deal of planning wisdom. Nineteenth-century city boosters who promoted their scrubby little towns as future metropolises had artists render bird's-eye-view maps with magnificent buildings, and explained to anyone who would listen how their location guaranteed an expansive future. According to its promoters, Duluth, Minnesota, my hometown, was in 1870 conveniently located on a transportation grid connecting it to Chicago, St. Paul, New York, London, Calcutta, and Paris.

Growth paid for cities. Cities borrowed money, taxed property modestly, and waited for increasing population and increasing tax revenues. Given nearly a century and a half of growth, this does not seem shortsighted.

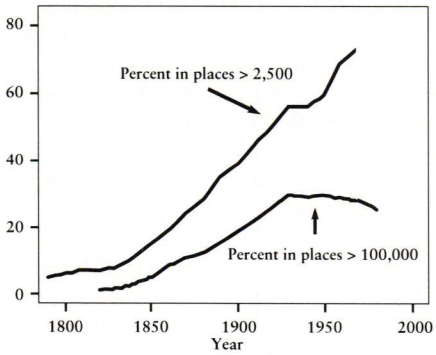


Figure 1. Proportions of total U.S. population in all cities and in big cities.

As the upper line in Figure 1 shows, the proportion of the nation's total population living in cities increased steadily for over two centuries. Even the problems accompanying growth, congestion, and overuse of infrastructure could be handled by more growth and more revenue—except for two things: (1) the underlying political and fiscal basis of American cities included geographical bounds that ultimately meant growing cities would abut one another, and (2) the larger growth patterns had a subtle underlying feature that at first went unnoticed. The lower line in Figure 1 hints at this unnoticed feature: The proportion of the population living in cities greater than 100,000 has not grown as consistently as has the total proportion living in all urban places. In fact, there has been a decreased population percentage living in very large cities for the whole second half of the twentieth century. This apparent turn away from large cities was masked in part by the growth of the population as a whole, and in part because we called it *sub*urbanization, as though it was not really urban.

That increased city living meant increased small city living amplifies the significance of the peculiar political status of cities. As local governments, American cities are legal creatures of the states. In our federal system, states created cities as corporations similar to business corporations. To seek change in their governing charters, cities, towns, and villages have had to go to state legislatures, which have usually granted the local government's wishes. Until the 1920s, states defined cities' boundaries as the cities wished, so that cities typically expanded their boundaries ahead of growth. But as the network of cities began to fill in a bit, as small towns formerly seven miles from a

city center began to be approached by the city boundary, local political resistance to expansion began to build. In the post-World War II era, simple boundary expansion had faded as an automatic option for cities, and with it their ability to capture the revenue benefits of new construction began to erode.

Cities expecting revenue benefits from expansion suffered from other problems as well. The depression had a shocking effect on city finance, with nearly three thousand cities going into default, more than in all previous American history. Mayors appealed to states and then to the federal government for help. This appeal, which was moderately successful, accelerated a trend that had begun around the turn of the century. Figure 2 shows that, as the principal source of city revenues, property taxes were slowly supplanted by monies from

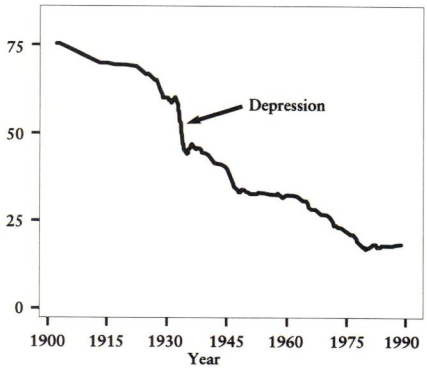


Figure 2. Percentage of city revenues coming from property taxes.

state and federal governments. One consequence was that revenue growth from city growth no longer had such a big impact on city budgets, because property tax revenues were now just one source among many. A second, related consequence was that local governments' increased dependence on state and federal monies left them vulnerable to policy shifts. Both the Carter and Reagan presidencies cut money going to local governments. But any dramatic reversal of federal spending, one that moved the clock back to 1900, say, would require a dramatic reversal no politician proposes: the cancelling of the federal income tax!

A second, more subtle factor also diluted growth profits. Most cities in the United States are not very big, and, because there are so many of them, most people do not know their names. In fact, the growth in mean city size peaked in the immediate post-World War II years, and

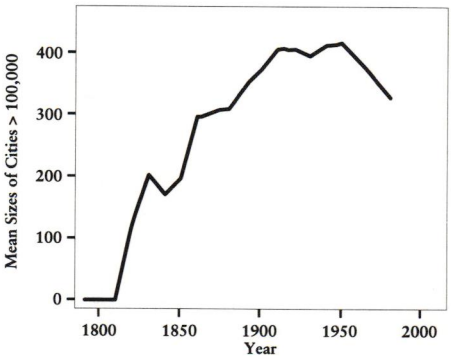


Figure 3. Mean population of U.S. cities.

now shows a clear shift downward. Yet it is in these mid-sized cities that most growth has occurred. Because these rather than large cities have been the growth centers, they have maintained their more comfortable fiscal positions. But these positions, too, are based on the old formula of growth.

In spite of our own mental images, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York are not typical cities and never were. Mid-sized Glendora and Azusa are much more typical. Growth thus is more likely to occur in small or new places: we have observed in the past thirty years how big cities in general have almost ceased in their population growth. And, not too surprisingly, this cessation has contributed to their fiscal straits. Having filled out by the 1950s and filled in by the 1980s, Los Angeles and San Francisco can now only fill up—that is, grow vertically to increase density and tax revenues—or learn to live with stability. And it is this latter concept that will in fact trouble our cities the most: stability also can be interpreted as

stagnation. Or, for cities whose whole fiscal history has been characterized by constant expansion, stability can actually seem like decline.

We have yet to see what stability will actually look like. On the most obvious level, it will certainly entail more rigorous attention to infrastructural maintenance and renewal schedules. It may require us to make some large political, fiscal, and cultural adjustments: as voters, borrowers, lenders, taxpayers, builders, or renters, we may have to see ourselves on longer cycles of time and in roles of greater responsibility. In fact, this is already true as our sewers crumble and we excavate earth from polluted building sites. Typically, the replacement of sewers and bridges and more careful land reuse are either the first or the second step in recycling our urban space. We have much to discover about living in cities, for not only are our cities relatively new in their shape and design, but the whole world has only recently urbanized.

This leads us back to the linkage between growth and a city's economic well-being. Given our history, it is no wonder that stability seems to bring economic straits, for our past is one that successfully banked its future revenues on future growth. We have a long and developed tradition of aggressive urban marketing and planning, all based on a history of growth. But more and more cities have, finally, now grown up. And it may be that we will have to learn a new way of thinking about the future that includes change and adaptive reuse, but not growth. These constraints, both new and historical, need not be conceptualized as tragic or even as dramatic. After all, the blank slate upon which our predecessors drew was not actually blank at all: In every city, even those seemingly built from scratch, tradition dictated everything from lot size and shape to legal and financial relationships. Lenders have always gone with the least risky—and therefore least innovative—solutions. Today's site—hemmed in with code restrictions, preexisting infrastructure, and a predetermined social and economic environment—has the same fundamental categories affecting it as did the site of fifty or one hundred years ago. In fact, one can argue that the choices today are *less* constrained than those of our predecessors, because our experience with all the factors of city building and maintenance now has greater depth and expertise. The only difference is that we can no longer pretend that a single, gigantic, political unit of one city will contain the growth that we once thought it would.

The past fifty years have revealed clear preferences for smaller urban units. The political movements of the past two decades, both on the left and on the right, have indicated the persistence of our traditional dissatisfaction with large government. Intergovernmental cooperation rather than a network of mega-governments has come to characterize the metropolitan mosaic. In a sense, the spatial peculiarities of our local governments may be far less of a problem than anyone has imagined, just as the more pressing problem may be more related to planning for the future that is based on a clear comprehension of the past.

The growth 'crisis' can be rethought as the stability crisis. The stability crisis may suggest a reordering of the ways in which we borrow on expected future growth. It certainly will mean that the time horizon of politicians and voters will have to extend considerably further than just to the next election. Maintenance and renewal will become the modes of political, infrastructural, and fiscal policy, but these require as much energy, creativity, and vision as did the earlier mode of building with a blank tablet.

Growth Strategies for Southern California

Ronald L. Baers, AIA, AICP
Frank E. Hotchkiss, AIA, AICP

Introduction

Architects and planners can provide vital input to the Southern California growth management dilemma by helping decision makers focus on the physical form implications of growth management policies. These policies are too often considered in terms of abstract quantitative analysis without understanding of their effect on future settlement patterns and quality of life. In fact, the debate over growth cannot be fairly considered unless we can relate it to the physical environment within which growth occurs. This is where the design community can help focus the issues and provide a vision of the alternatives.

California is a complex of large and small laboratories where we have invented new forms for our rapidly changing society. This paper considers goals and strategies for growth management with emphasis on the Southern California, and especially Orange County, 'laboratories'.

Background

Since discussions about growth management are so often motivated by desires to stop all growth, some description of Southern California growth dynamics bears repeating.

Over the past decade, no urban area in the industrialized world has added so many millions, no place has received such an influx of immigrants from such highly diverse cultures, no place has provided so many manufacturing jobs. Furthermore, the actual 'gross' change has been much greater than the 'net' increases indicate, with births replacing deaths, with in-migration replacing large out-migration, and with thousands of business start-ups, failures, expansions, contractions, and conversions.

Year	Nine County	Six County	Orange County
1870	32,000	19,000	*
1900	304,000	250,000	19,696
1930	2,935,219	2,657,969	118,674
1960	9,062,371	7,823,721	703,925
1990	18,051,933	14,640,832	2,410,556

*Orange County was still part of Los Angeles in 1870.

Population figures for the nine county area (Imperial, Kern, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernadino, Santa Barbara, San Diego, Ventura), the six county SCAG area (excluding Kern, Santa Barbara, and San Diego), and Orange County alone by 30 year increments.

These dynamics are closely linked to international economics and world politics, and we see southern California becoming the primary 'World City-Region' described by Jane Jacobs. Considering immigration patterns, fertility rates, total statewide water availability, and possible new transportation fuels and technology, growth trends will not be significantly modified in the near future, barring a very severe, broad, and sustained economic downturn. Recent studies undertaken at the University of Southern California indicate that even if very broad limitations on new housing construction were implemented, much of the growth would still continue but with intense overcrowding and overburdening of the infrastructure and accelerated decline of environmental quality.

So the challenge is to manage the growth dynamics to improve our urban environment, our economic health, and the opportunities and quality of life for all. Our response to this challenge is particularly important since our innovations are at the cutting edge of the creation of a new urban form. This form can be thought of as a vast changing network of diverse urban places where overlapping metropolises within the megalopolis are formed by 'constellations' of centers within the larger regional 'galaxy': a form that is continually taking shape and being shaped by social, economic, and technological change.

Goals for Growth Management

Keeping in mind Kevin Lynch's "performance dimensions" for good urban form—vitality, sense, fit, access, control, efficiency, and justice—growth management can achieve goals such as:

- Improved and more balanced transportation
- Development of denser multiuse centers at varying scales, integrated with improved transportation systems
- Mixed residential densities
- Toxics clean-up
- Xeriscape and other water conservation measures
- Air quality improvements
- Affordable housing and housing close to established job centers
- Job opportunities, especially close to existing housing concentrations
- Habitat and open space retention and reclamation
- Historic preservation
- Neighborhood/community stabilization
- Improved health, welfare, education, and justice systems

In a good growth management system, all major growth proposals should address these goals. Cities, counties, and regional agencies already subscribe to such goals, even though implementation is weak in many cases. There are examples of public and private programs that have been or are in the process of implementing many of these goals.

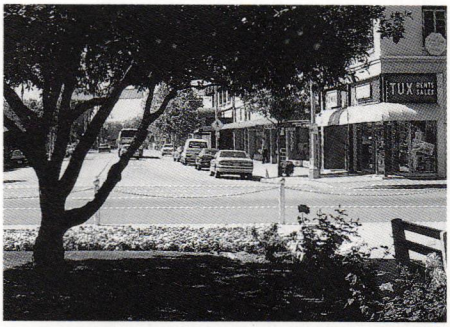
The Receiving Environment For Growth

Existing environments can be grouped into three stages of growth: developed, redeveloping, and developing. For each stage, a unique set of growth management considerations can be raised.

DEVELOPED AREAS

This is perhaps the easiest to understand and the hardest to deal with. Developed areas are the older, established neighborhoods that often have the most character because a certain patina has matured.

The growth management strategy applied to developed areas is clear: *Protect against incompatible change and maintain social and economic vitality.*



Downtown Orange, an established stable neighborhood in Orange County. Photograph by David Baab.

In addition, older established neighborhoods also have significant liabilities insofar as they offer an infrastructure that cannot accommodate major increments of new growth. Streets are narrow, parking is scarce, and utilities are limited. Public facilities may also be a limiting factor. Therefore, the quantity of growth is usually small and changes occur

incrementally. The emphasis on changes in physical form is concentrated on how to blend old and new in ways that respect the character-giving aspects of existing structures. This type of growth can be effectively managed through zoning codes designed to protect by controlling permitted uses and prescribing building envelopes and details that reflect the character of developed areas. Above all, recognizing limitations to growth is of paramount concern.

A sub-category of developed areas should also be considered in neighborhoods where significant infill pressures are a factor. The basic growth management strategy is valid, but the scale of physical change is larger and more complicated. Some examples of major infill sites in developed areas are oil fields, military facilities, large, obsolete industrial complexes, and drive-in movie theaters. These uses are becoming obsolete because of resource depletion, world energy economics, and technological change. Such sites present challenges to accommodating growth in a manner that is compatible with the established neighborhood, while implementing needed housing, mixed-use centers, or community services. Traditional zoning codes are not equipped to address such complex design and planning issues. 'Specific Plans' with general plan and zoning amendments are needed.

REDEVELOPING AREAS

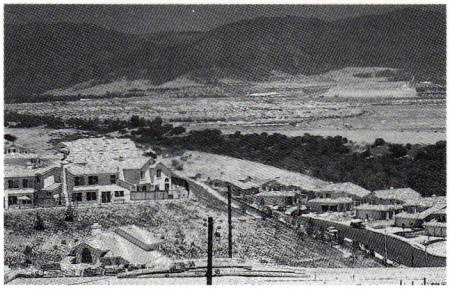
These are older neighborhoods where there is potential for significant change that would correct the physical toll caused by neglect or because of outside regional forces. The growth management strategy can be stated as: *Protect what is worth saving and encourage compatible development that can re-energize the area.*

The nature and scale of change, whether it involves intensification of present functions or the introduction of new functions, may lead to a new physical form. The tricky aspect of considering the appropriate form of growth is that clearly defined goals may not exist, and the functional changes that result from redevelopment activity will mean displacement for present tenants and activities. Some remnants of past eras may exist, but perhaps not enough to establish an area-wide theme for the future. Or, the present activities may be character-giving and provide a real social service yet not able to afford the higher rents that result from the redevelopment investment.

Traditional zoning cannot address the complex issues involved in redeveloping areas. So, new techniques are required that can lead to a negotiated set of community goals and design guidelines that are responsive to a very complex social and physical environment. A balance is needed between protection and stimulation that protects desirable features of the existing environment, forestalls further neglect and deterioration, and encourages new investment that creates desirable development.

DEVELOPING AREAS

These are the newer parts of the community. They are in various stages of completion with respect to the master plan that guides their growth. Developing areas today are typically large land areas, often in single ownership, and their growth follows a master plan prepared by



Residential villages in Ranch Santa Margarita. Photograph by David Baab.

the land owner and approved by the county or municipality. They are often criticized for being uniform and monoto-

nous. Somehow, the excitement and character evident in older neighborhoods with a rich mix of activities and lot-by-lot idiosyncracies have not been captured in these newer neighborhoods. Nevertheless, a major portion of new urban growth is occurring in these new master-planned communities, and this trend will continue with evolving density, land use, and transportation patterns.

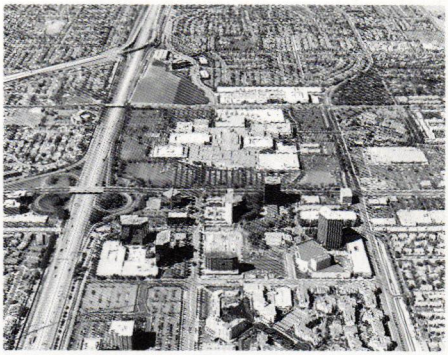
Developing areas are dynamic and changing, and the development process is fluid in response to changing market conditions and regional demands and needs. Developing areas present many planning models that presumably represent our best efforts at creating the future. From the first modern-era new towns of Columbia and Reston to the new towns of southern California (Irvine, Valencia, Mission Viejo, and Rancho Santa Margarita, to name a few), we have witnessed a rich diversity of new community forms taking shape that are in stark contrast to our older neighborhoods. New town development of recent decades has been justly criticized for the super-block pattern, rigid road hierarchies, and course-grained land use mixes. These patterns, though very successful in the market, have led to excessive reliance on the automobile, increased energy use and air pollution, and, quite possibly, social isolation and obstacles to sense of community. Recently these shortcomings have been recognized and the larger developers are now aiming at mixed-use centers and land-use patterns facilitating alternative transportation, including community-based transit. The challenge for enlightened growth management in developing areas is clear: *Encourage these new patterns.*

Where Should We Go From Here?

It seems clear that we have no choice but to reform the urban pattern created over the past decades in order to emphasize the creation of livable and affordable communities that have a balance of land uses and offer choices in transportation.

BALANCED LAND USES

The primary effort here is to provide people with the choice of working and residing in reasonable proximity, or in the same community. Economic forces have already caused significant shifts that decentralize employment centers and move jobs outward to the developing residential communities. New urban cores or urban villages have emerged and will continue to intensify as the activity centers in newly developed and developing areas. The mix of activities should intensify to the point where a lively, vibrant, and stimulating place emerges, and a walk-to-work environment is available for those who choose such a lifestyle. As these centers become more balanced in their mixture of activities, lands now devoted to on-grade parking will be transformed into mixed residential neighborhoods offering diverse housing choices, offices, and a pedestrian street life for socializing,



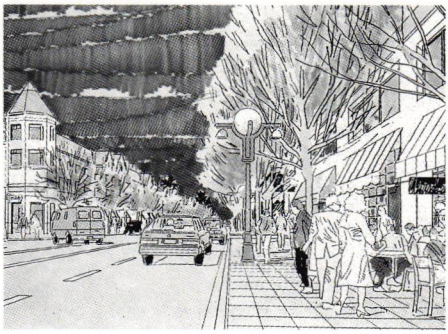
The emerging urban core around South Coast Plaza regional mall. Courtesy of Pacific Aerographics.

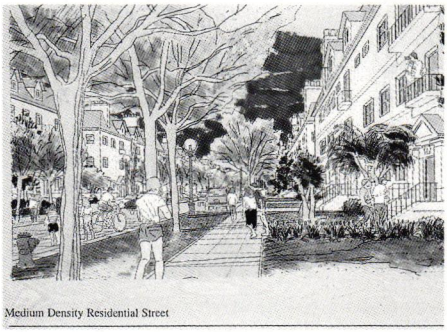
shopping, and entertainment. These emerging mixed-use centers will be directly served by transit, and on-grade parking will be replaced by strategically placed parking structures that are directly accessed from freeways and arterials. As an example, imagine South Coast Plaza,

a major Orange County regional mall, ringed by mixed use blocks of housing and offices instead of parking lots and garages.

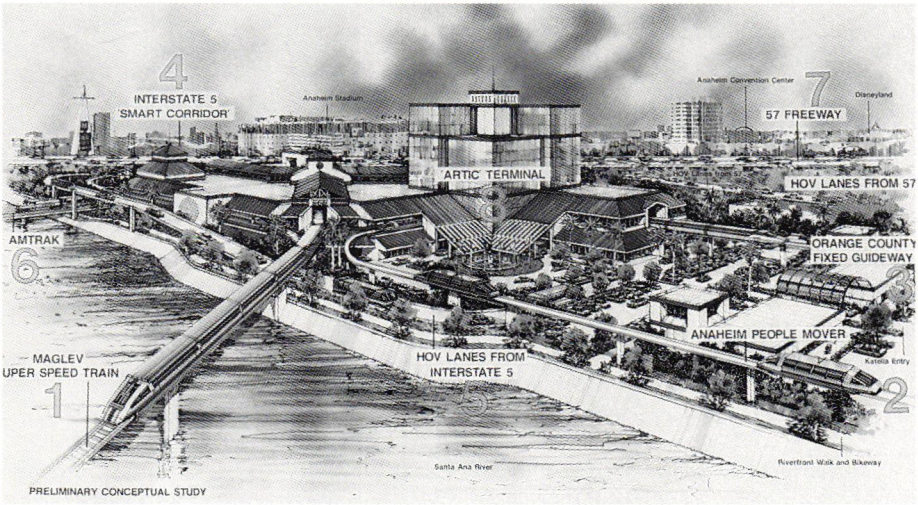
TRANSPORTATION PLANNING

Even Orange County communities, heavily reliant on the private auto to meet all transportation needs, are embarking on a new regional planning effort that is based on several public transit alternatives, ranging from super high-speed magnetic levitation trains to commuter light-rail systems. These transit systems will link existing activity centers and residential neighborhoods, providing a viable alternative to commuting by car. Hopefully, this planning effort will also provide the development regulations and design guidelines to create viable mixed-use neighborhoods around stations, furthering the vitality of our metropolitan patterns. Those business parks created over the past ten to twenty years as single-use zones highly accessible from the regional highway system will now be transformed to mixed-use neighborhoods served by convenient public transit. Pedestrian precincts need to be added to the ground plane, which will connect residential areas to offices via tree-lined shopping streets. Proposals of this nature have been developed for the Irvine Business Complex, one of the larger employment centers in Orange County.





Proposed streetscape for Irvine Business Complex, now being replanned as a mixed use village. Sketches by Norman Kondy.



Proposed Regional Transportation Center in Anaheim. Courtesy of City of Anaheim.

NEW TOWNS

New communities created on large infill parcels within the metropolitan area and those to be created on raw land at the edges of urbanization will also need to adopt a more efficient settlement pattern through new transportation modes and a mixed land use pattern. Every effort should be made to plan these new communities so that all internal trips can be made without the private car. This means that an overlay network of paths and trails should be planned in coordination with the street systems. This pathway network would accommodate walkers, bikers, and joggers, and connect residences with activity centers throughout the community. In addition, the pathway networks could serve residents using small electric vehicles for making internal trips. With the majority of trips made off-road, the number and width of streets could be reduced. To promote efficient land-use patterns, different residential densities need to be more integrated and developed in smaller increments in order to replace the present pattern of large tracts of single-density residential use. The choice of housing types would be expanded as well as the diversity of the population, so that families with children, singles, and the elderly could all live in the same neighborhood.

Summary And Conclusions

In summary, a regional framework for growth should be established that addresses all parts of the region—developed, redeveloping, and developing neighborhoods. It must establish growth policies that recognize present limitations on growth for older communities where protection of what exists should be the emphasis, and recognize the potential of redeveloping areas to accommodate limited growth and change, arrest further deterioration, and retain the positive aspects of these neighborhoods. For developing areas and new communities, trends to make regional centers more efficient in their land-use patterns (mixed-use) and less dependent on the automobile should be pursued, and alternative transit modes should be provided. Overlaying all of these approaches, regional public transportation should be planned that links existing and developing activity centers and connects them with residential neighborhoods. And finally, programs must be included to reclaim and preserve significant open space resources throughout the existing and evolving urban fabric.

Turtle Rock, Irvine, a major open space resource that is being preserved through creative planning. Photograph by David Baab.

In the case of southern California, the regional strategy should consider the potential of diverting growth toward new or existing metropolises one hundred miles or more from the edge of the present urban area and providing high-speed rail connections. This could relieve excess pressures on built-up areas.

At the regional scale especially, but also at the local scale, it is important to recognize the array of tools available to implement growth management, including:

- Federal and state laws and regulations impacting local planning, environmental quality programs, housing, open space, transportation, waste management, and health and education
- Management and disposition of *public lands*, particularly large tracts being made available for new development

- Construction and management of major public infrastructure: freeways, rail transit, airports, aqueducts, hospitals, universities, parks, and marinas

Planners often ignore the potentials for intraregional trend-shifting that result from new broader-scale problem *altering* (rather than only problem *solving*) strategies. Examples could include: shifts in air quality offset requirements to encourage job/housing balance; development of high-speed rail systems to redirect growth; extensive inclusionary housing requirements so that new business could help create needed housing; or, tax base sharing within clusters of cities in order to rationalize location of new taxables and ensure that new tax revenues can be invested in the areas of greatest need. We have the geography, the climate, a remarkably adaptable urban structure, many of the tools we need, an increasingly sophisticated citizenry, and an increasing concern among public and private leaders. We will need adjustments in governance (note bills pending in legislature), broader-based leadership, and vision. The dynamics of growth and the changing international role of California pose special challenges and opportunities for architecture and architects as we approach the twenty-first century.

Further Reading

Doxiadis, Constantine A. *Ekistics: An Introduction to Science of Human Settlements*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Fishman, Robert. *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1987.

Jacobs, Jane. *Cities and the Wealth of Nation: Principles of Economic Life*. New York: Random House, 1984.

Kling, Rob, Spencer Olin, and Mark Poster, ed. *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991.

Kotkin, Joel and Yoriko Kishimoto, *The Third Century: Americas Resurgence in the Asian Era*. New York: Crown, 1988.

Leinberger, Christopher B. "Urban Cores: Development Trends and Real Estate Opportunities in the 1990s." *Urban Land* (December 1990).

Lockwood, Charles and Christopher B. Leinberger. "Los Angeles Comes of Age." *The Atlantic* (January 1988).

Los Angeles 2000: A City for the Future. The Los Angeles 2000 Committee, 1988.

Lynch, Kevin. *A Theory of Good City Form*. Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1981.

Mumford, Lewis. *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1938.

Novak, Michael. *The Spirit of Democratic Capitalism*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982.

Orange County Growth Management Plan. Orange County Planning Department.

Scott, Allen J. *Metropolis: From the Division of Labor to Urban Form*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Southern California Association of Governments. *Growth Management Plan*. SCAG, 1989.

Southern California Association of Governments. *Regional Strategic Plan: 1989 Prospectus*. SCAG, 1989.

Race, Environment, and Land

Cynthia Hamilton

When the United Church of Christ released its report entitled "Toxic Waste and Race" in 1987, there were many who protested the primacy of race in this assessment of America's toxic waste siting. While in some sense it is true that pollution impacts all of us, the belief that pollution is equitable, with everyone receiving an equal share, is readily challenged by the evidence.[1] Environmental equity has been as elusive as economic equity: The two are inextricably bound to the point that economic power determines the security of environmental rights. The demonstrated racial impact of land developement is rooted in not only the haphazard patterns of unplanned growth but also the explicit policies of land use/growth management planning, which are themselves responsive to the economic forces driving growth. Whether focused on urban redevelopment, suburban development, or planned use of restricted lands, growth management policies have consistently intertwined the variables of race, environment, and land. Accordingly, location has become a serious health hazard for many minority communities.

The relationship between race, the selection of land for development, and environmental crisis is best illustrated by little known examples. Triana, Alabama, a small town with a population of no more than a thousand, all of whom are Black, was the home of Olin Chemical Company's DDT processing facilitiy from 1947 to 1971.[2] When the plant closed, the facilities were torn down and 4000 tons of DDT were buried. The DDT seeped into ground water and fishing ponds, poisoning the residential community and contaminating the citizens. Triana has been called the "unhealthiest town in America."[3] Native American Indian nations suffer the distinction of being primary recipients of nuclear test sites: since 1963, the United States has exploded 651 nuclear weapons and devices on the Western Shoshone/Nevada Test Site. And as if that weren't enough, waste management companies are now 'wooing' tribes across the country to persuade them to receive the waste generated by a throwaway society. Clarifying that this selection of minority populated lands for waste is not only a rural phenomenon, the *Chicago Sun Times* described Chicago's Southside residents as "victims of environmental neglect that has made the far Southside a minefield of toxic hazards which include abandoned factories, toxic waste dumps, industrial air pollution, and tainted water."[4]

According to the United Church of Christ report, "race proved to be the most significant among variables tested in association with the location of commercial hazardous waste facilities....Three out of five of the largest commercial hazardous waste landfills in the U.S. are located in predominantly Black or Hispanic communities. These landfills account for 40 percent of the total estimated commercial landfill capacity in the nation."[5]

California has its own particular manifestations of this interrelationship between race and land planning. In Richmond, California, a predominantly African-American community, the

emissions of benzene and other air contaminants from the Chevron refinery and the consequent chemical fires and explosions have long plagued residents; now they also find themselves to be recipients of gasoline-contaminated soil. In Kettleman City, a precedent setting civil rights suit has recently been filed against Chemical Waste Management on behalf of the predominantly Latino community, charging 'environmental racism' for their proposed siting of a new hazardous waste facility. In Los Angeles, a successful community battle stopped construction of a municipal incinerator in the low-income Black and Latino community of South Central, but less than five years later, the community has had to organize again to oppose a proposed hazardous waste incinerator only five miles away in Vernon. This would have been the first hazardous waste incinerator in California built in a metropolitan area.

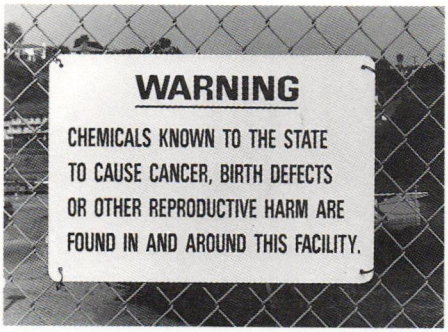
Vernon and Commerce, municipalities that were incorporated to accommodate manufacturing and that have few residents inside their official boundaries, are bordered by the East Los Angeles *barrio* and the oldest Black community in the 9th Council District of Los Angeles. "California's dirtiest Zip Code," 90058, is in Vernon, which has six uncontrolled toxic waste sites.[6] East Los Angeles has eight, and the area next door, bordered by the Los Angeles River, Sixth Street on the north, and Eastern Avenue on the south, has the highest number, eleven. The area south of Watts (bordered by Rosecrans Blvd. on the south, Avalon Blvd. on the east, Figueroa Blvd. on the west, and 107th Street on the north) has three uncontrolled toxic sites. All of these impacted areas, with majority Latino and African American populations, also have some of the highest concentrations of toxic industries: plastics, waste and scrap, paint, metal plating, and chemicals, and, accordingly, some of the highest concentrations of air toxins. For example, the small community of Wilmington, over ninety percent Latino, houses four of Los Angeles County's 20 largest air polluters (Texaco, Shell, Ultramar, Unocal). The residents of communities located near such industrial areas (often also areas of freeway density) face increased risks of permanent lung and immunulogical damage and significantly higher rates of respiratory problems, emphysema, and cancer.[7] Thus, ironically, where the jobs/housing balance is good, health risks are great.

Chevron oil field adjacent to the residential community of Baldwin Hills, Los Angeles. Courtesy of the Labor/Community Strategy Center.

Los Angeles, once a haven for those seeking relief from health problems and industrial contamination, is now the home of some of the most deadly industrial emissions of the twentieth century. With a history of planning that has made excessive use of cheap labor and resources and has abused the land in the pursuit of industrial development, Los Angeles is, not surprisingly, one of the four most segregated cities in the country.[8] As downtown Los Angeles absorbs growth through a strategy of urban intensification and place-making called 'Manhattanization', and suburban regions are targeted for 'community' development into decentralized centers, entire areas of the city are abandoned to air, ground, and water contamination, and the low-income Latino and Black populations that cannot afford to flee are left to bear the lion's share of the uneven burden—the planned

byproduct of growth's environmental crisis.

What emerges as a general theme is that these abuses are not accidental correlations between toxics, race, and land planning, but rather the result of a conscious political strategy that targets communities that are perceived to be vulnerable and weak as the recipients of society's environmental hazards. Ironically, the identification of politically vulnerable communities and the art of justifying projects or 'selling' communities on projects that are *not* in their best interest has become a new business specialty for consultants. For example, California's Waste Management Board recently commissioned a study entitled *Political Difficulties Facing Waste-to-Energy Conversion Plant Siting*, prepared by Cerrell and Associates in Los Angeles, in which they readily admit that since the 1970s "political criteria have become every bit as important in determining the outcome of a project as engineering factors."[9] The conclusion that these experts draw is that "certain types of people are likely to participate in politics." Their profile describes potential opponents to waste-to-enery projects as "people with a college education, young or middle aged and liberal in philosophy."[10] Triana, Alabama, Southside Chicago, Illinois, and South Central Los Angeles are not considered the "types" of communities likely to oppose waste sites. Their populations include the elderly, those without advanced education, poor people on fixed incomes, and working people of moderate wages, and they are communities of color.



Official sign, mandated by the State of California, warning nearby residents of potential harm in proximity of the site. Courtesy of the Labor/ Community Strategy Center.

Fearing organized opposition from more privileged constituencies, industry focuses on poor minority communities as the location for growth's debris. With the environmental crisis escalating and space for waste decreasing, as long as land can be acquired cheaply and easily in Black and Latino neighborhoods, as long as zoning policy allocates areas in which environmental regulation is minimized, these communities will continue to be prime targets.

Land-use decisions have always reflected class and race bias. These decisions cannot be presumed to produce an equitable distribution of goods and services or balanced sharing of social responsibilities because they reflect the distribution of economic power in society. It is not a coincidence, therefore, that low-income minority communities end up with fewer amenities while being asked to bear greater social responsibilities for the city as a whole, i.e., highways, prisons, waste dumps, etc. Social and economic disparities are a constant in community economic development in America. But with rising poverty and unemployment, increased pressure on environmental resources, and growing environmental activism in communities of color that refuse to fit the political typecasting of waste management consultants, the social inequities incorporated into new growth management strategies must be addressed anew.

The recognition of this environmental inequity necessitates a new conceptualization of the problem as well as an identification of new variables for analysis. Growth management involves not only conservation or sustainability but policy regarding the contamination of

lands and populations. And a planning process that allows the exponentially increasing disproportionate impact described here will not achieve sustainable growth but, rather, will deepen the growing social, political, and environmental crisis in growth management.

Notes

1. Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr., Executive Director, *Toxic Wastes and Race in the United States: A National Report on the Racial and Socio-Economic Characteristics of Communities with Hazardous Waste Sites* (New York: United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, 1987).

2. Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality* (Bolder, Co.: Westview Press, 1990).

3. Barbara Reynolds, "Triana, Alabama: The Unhealthiest Town in America," *National Wildlife* 18 (August 1980), as quoted in Bullard, *Dumping*, 19.

4. Deborah Nelson, "Our Toxic Trap," *Chicago Sun Times*, 31 May 1987.

5. Chavez, *Toxic Wastes*, xiii.

6. Jane Kay, "Fighting Toxic Racism," *San Francisco Examiner*, 7 April 1991, A1.

7. Eric Mann with the Labor/Community Watchdog, *L.A.'s Lethal Air: New Strategies for Policy, Organizing, and and Action* (Los Angeles: Labor/Community Strategy Center, 1991).

8. Cynthia Hamilton, "The Making of an American Bantustan," *L.A. Weekly*, 30 December 1988.

9. Cerrell Associates, *Political Difficulties Facing Waste-to-Energy Conversion Plant Siting*, prepared for the California Waste Management Board, State of California (1984), 31.

10. Ibid., 43.

Healthy Cities: Is This an Architect's Responsibility?

Leonard J. Duhl, M.D.

"Imagine a city in which each resident can live a healthy, productive life in a clean, safe environment. Imagine a city that supports all of its residents in their quest for personal satisfaction and fulfillment. Imagine a city where government, industry, and citizenry work together to achieve common goals that support the well-being of the community. Finally, imagine a city where all citizens—regardless of race or income—have equal access to services, resources, and opportunities. Transforming today's city into *that* city is the vision of the international Healthy Cities movement."[1]

Architects have always designed cities. Not always have they been professional architects. More often, they are the people of the community trying to respond to their needs as best they can.

For a short historical time, city planners tried to find ways of laying out communities with specific goals in mind; at present, planners no longer hold sway. Instead, in the western world, developers responding to particular needs and advocates of special interests are redesigning most cities. People are finding new ways to cope with the new urban worlds they see evolving. Indeed, in most of the developing world, the planners of future cities are the countless squatters who are taking over suburban open space. The upper class occupies only small sections of most cities. Today, the critical issues are the specifications and standards by which our cities should develop. In California, we are seeing all of the various urban forms emerging. They include elegant architect and planner conceived communities, haphazard development sprawl, and even some squatter settlements. Despite the haphazardness of these processes, we do not wish to give up our pursuit of the optimal community.

The idea of creating a healthy city is an old one. Each culture has generated its own definition of health. The Koran, for example, is specific about privacy, noise, spatial arrangements, street size, waste, water, and much more. Similarly, Buddhism and other religions have similar criteria and values for communities. The Jews in Venice, for example, translated what were precepts for rural life to the ghetto they were forced to occupy. The results were the first of our modern housing codes.[2] More recently, the idea that cities should meet the health needs of people has come to the forefront. The World Health Organization (WHO) has sponsored a Healthy Cities program in Europe. It has since spread to the rest of the developed world, though more slowly to the developing one.

What are the changes necessary to improve the health of individuals and that of the community as a whole? The basic concept is simple. By promoting health, we mean not only the medical care needed to cope with disease and illness, but also optimal growth and development for all people. This constitutes a focus on health promotion rather than on treatment of symptoms and disease.[3]

To deal with these issues requires the involvement of more than just health professionals. It means bringing together all the various interest groups and professionals who, in their work, affect

the lives of people. It is often a surprise that transportation, communication, housing, and economic activity are all considered elements of health promotion. However, making it possible to get anywhere in the city of Toronto in thirty minutes—whether sick or well—is indeed a health policy. The ability of people to command events that affect their lives may be more health enhancing than the services of any medical facility. If we involve all the diverse groups involved in health promotion, no matter how indirectly they are engaged, we can begin to get a picture of the complex and holistic systems of urban life. Everything in urban life affects health! If we can bring the diverse groups together in active participation, the cities that are full of *specialized games* can play a *game of games* on a common gameboard. The private languages of each interest group can be replaced by a commonly developed one. This takes time. It requires concentration on issues that are of collective concern: Whether the chosen issue of concern be crime, pollution, public services, children's services, parks and recreation programs, infrastructure or open space, bringing people together brings out their values and priorities.

Rather than arriving at competitive or fragmented solutions, the goals should be collective ones. The current population growth in the urban areas of California confronts us with the additional changes in population patterns: In both northern and southern California, massive increases of Latino and Asian peoples in urban areas have brought new diversity of values, patterns of living, needs, and expectations. Looking at California, we see the concern for saving the natural environment. One solution is no growth. Thinking holistically, there may be others. There is, in fact, no *natural environment*. All that we call natural is modified by humans.[4] We are living in a world of human-made environments, where 65 percent of the world's population lives in urban communities. More than 45 percent of the population are children under fifteen years of age. Some may say that this is not California. The well-to-do white population is both older and smaller and has fewer children. The poor and former racial minorities are now the majority and have a growing and younger population. There are urban areas with little money, industry, and much unemployment.

A simplistic solution is to find *the answer*, but there is none. We are finding complex and systemic issues that demand more than a symptomatic response. It is as if everyone's solution is *right* from their point of view. If all views are *right*, there is a need for a new way to solve the dilemmas. The solutions may require mediation even more than advocacy. If, however, certain groups have too little power to participate as equals, there is the possibility of gaining power through advocacy. We are at a stage of urban development where win-win strategies must replace the zero sum game in which we are already engaged. The only way to resolve these issues is to see both individual needs and the needs of the community or city as part of a larger whole. Holistic solutions are difficult, since special interests have to give way on their individual goals for the promotion of the goals of the whole. In my own profession, families often bring in the sick child for psychiatric help. The child, in most cases, is only the *ostensible* patient. It is the family system that is in real difficulty. So it is with cities. The mayor of Milan, in fact, suggested to me that the Healthy City program was a form of family therapy for cities.

The challenge to those of us *designing* communities is to determine the values that are important today and also for the future. In bringing people together to find mutually acceptable solutions, we must inquire further about their values. These become clear in vision workshops with diverse community groups. The needs of

the human life cycle are important. What are the needs at each stage of life? This includes places for conception, early childhood, adolescence, education, work, mid-life, retirement, and death—the needs of individuals and families. If we look at our communities carefully, there are gaps in available resources to meet these needs. For example, there are few resources available for teenagers; more important are the other needs humans have, like places to live, work, and play.

Let me propose that we need community planners who are both physical and social architects. Who are these people, and what must they know? Rarely does the knowledge exist in a single person. Rather there is collaboration of teams of people who are, at the moment, only partially synchronized in their efforts. There are many physical architects and city planners who, with a broad view, draw upon the skills of diverse professionals to deal with the design of physical space. If they are to be social architects as well, and there are few who would be, in addition they must deal with the variety of human experience, ethnic and racial diversity, institutional and personal interaction, social services, and human activities.[5] My first experience with this kind of planning was James Rouse's planning team for Columbia, Maryland. Those of us working on it were impressed by the values and goals implied by the planning effort, though at the time we were only partially successful.

Humans have a multiplicity of diverse needs that reflect our assorted backgrounds, values, interests, and abilities. Can we, as architects, meet these requirements? There is a hierarchy of values that makes up people's lives: One needs food, clothing, shelter, basic medical care, education, and income before one can face aesthetic or complex social issues involving others. Thus, many of the needs of the larger community demand the facing of problems related to basic needs. To ask the community of *haves* to recognize the needs of *have-nots* demands understanding of the importance of a healthy total community. As already mentioned, a child needs a healthy family. A family has a difficult time if even one portion of it is experiencing difficulty. A community cannot exist holistically if a part of it has difficulties. That is, if a part of it does not have its basic needs met, the whole cannot be healthy. Similarly, the ecology of any region demands looking at how the planning for the natural environment is integrated with planning for the human-made one. A holistic view will consider total land use, the concern of people with all the environmental needs, the layout of the city, and more. Cities need a focus or a center, as Kevin Lynch long ago pointed out.[6] They need boulevards, centers for gathering, and places for play. For safety they require 24-hour communities, so that activity is always taking place, and people are protected by the eyes of the street. There is no end to an ecological, systemic, and holistic concern. A Healthy City never just happens. It is an ongoing process.

The current WHO Healthy Cities project, which has a California program,[7] has reached 750 cities worldwide.[8] The experience shows that within the broad framework of the program there are many ways to proceed. When it works, there are social architects and entrepreneurs who guide the operation. Often, architects are part of the team. Some have faced the questions of pollution and the use of the natural environment. Others deal with housing, health services, jobs, the ending of tobacco smoking, recreation and parks, or whatever is affecting particular communities. The key is learning how to work in a holistic, ecological, and systemic way, beginning with the major issue presenting itself to the community, and then moving on to the underlying concerns. Equity, community participation, and respect for the human-made and natural environments are key issues. In each case, the question of money should be secondary.

Once the community begins to face an issue, funds appear. They are either found monies, gifts in kind, special bequests, or reallocations and reuses of money that is already available.

The Healthy Cities program is a process of "continually creating and improving those physical and social environments, and expanding those community resources which enable people to mutually support each other in performing all the functions of life and in developing to their maximum potential."

Notes

1. *California Healthy Cities* Brochure, 1990.

2. A fuller discussion of this appears in Leonard J. Duhl, "Mind of the City: The Context for Urban Life," *Environments* 19, no. 13 (1988).

3. Leonard J. Duhl and Trevor Hancock, *A Guide to Assessing Healthy Cities* (Copenhagen: FADL, 1988); Trevor Handcock and Leonard J. Duhl, *Promoting Health in the Urban Context* (Copenhagen: FADL, 1988); Agis D. Tsouris, *World Health Organization Healthy Cities Project: A Project Becomes a Movement* (Copenhagen: FADL, 1990).

4. In the II World Conference on the Environment in Rio de Janiero in 1992, the focus is on the natural environment. There is absolutely no concern for the human-made environment.

5. Wherever programs exist, they seem to be run by social entrepreneurs who have many of the skills of the business entrepreneur, but with more social values. For a review of the issues involved, see Leonard J. Duhl, *Social Entrepreneurship of Change* (New York: Pace University Press, 1990).

6. See Kevin Lynch, *A Theory of Good City Form* (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1981).

7. There are Healthy Cities programs throughout California. Pasadena, Long Beach, Duarte, Bell, Arcata, Ronert Park, and Oakland are some of the cities in the program. Information can be obtained from the California Healthy Cities Program in Sacramento, (916) 324-7763. The national program is centered at the National Municipal League in Denver, (800) 223-6004.

8. Most of the programs are in the developed world. Europe, Canada, the United States, and Australia have most of the projects. Others are beginning in the developing world.

Further Reading

Duhl, Leonard J., and Ian Grand, eds. *Urban Condition II: Revisited*. London: Grey Seal Press, forthcoming.

Duhl, Leonard J. *Cities and Health: The Governance of Diversity*. London: Grey Seal Press, 1991.

———. *Health Planning and Social Change*. New York: Human Sciences Press, 1986.

Architects and Growth

Allyne Winderman, AIA

The issue of growth has galvanized the public in California as no other issue in recent memory. It has politicians and planners racing to manage it, curb it, or stop it. Promises, initiatives, plans, and ordinances abound, with no clear vision in sight. Yet, through all this, discussions about growth are taking place outside the world of physical form that belongs to architects and urban designers. We have, in fact, been deliberately silent, perhaps feeling some degree of complicity because our well-being hinges to some extent on continued growth. Neither has the debate focused clearly on the physical environment, but rather on the problems of traffic congestion and the changing nature of neighborhoods formerly characterized by ethnic homogeneity.

Nevertheless, growth has significant implications for the physical environment because it does not occur within definable boundaries, but has spread out to engulf previously undeveloped regions. In the case of Los Angeles, for example, while the city and county grew 17.5 and 18.5 percent respectively between 1980 and 1990, surrounding counties such as Riverside and San Bernardino grew as much as 76.5 percent. One of the consequences of this expansion, dependent as it is on the private automobile, is the ever-worsening problem of freeway traffic congestion that has become perhaps the single greatest generator of concern over growth. It has also resulted in an air quality that is the worst in the nation. As suburban spread moves people further and further from their jobs, there is a concurrent loss of farmland and wilderness. And, because this growth occurs primarily as the proliferation of single-family homes over the region, a further consequence is the increased consumption of water, California's most limited resource.

Less apparent, but no less critical, is what this centrifugal growth is doing to the hearts of our cities. Urban centers contain the histories of peoples of the region no less than the majority of our infrastructure investment. Yet, as less expensive and less restricted land in the surburbs becomes available for commercial investment, commercial growth in the traditional core has slowed. As the commercial and residential centers become more dispersed, the opportunities for mass transit linkages are proportionately diminished. The meaning and culture of a place and its people, traditionally vested in the city center, is also being lost as fewer people know our downtowns. Finally, tied to the heart of the city is the vast majority of our low-income housing stock. Expanding growth leaves inner-city residents behind in aging, deteriorating, and segregated communities. At the same time, the large-scale transit needs of the rest of the city are tearing their neighborhoods apart with ever-widening streets and freeway interventions.

Yet, growth is inevitable. In Southern California, 60 percent of the anticipated growth will come from births alone. If we lock the doors tomorrow, maintaining the *status quo* is still impossible for the future. How can architects sit on the sidelines? We have historically sought utopian schemes and we have firmly believed that building a better physical environment will construct a better world. It is the obligation of architects and urban designers to provide prototypes for planned growth that are appropriate to

our era. We must work with planners to determine where growth should occur. We must understand the potential and benefits of mass transit and devise communities, centers, and housing that will support it. We should create higher-density housing types that are in keeping with the California lifestyle and can compete with the single family house in order to capture the imagination of the population. We must encourage reinvestment in the inner city to strengthen existing residential communities and provide alternative lifestyles to suburbanites. This will include the rehabilitation of existing low-income housing stock, urban parks, libraries, hospitals, and schools, along with the restoration and adaptive reuse of our historic resources. Most importantly, we must give our visions physical form that will create an alternative for the future.

Contributors to this Issue

RONALD L. BAERS, AIA, AICP	Partner, John Chapman Land Planning Newport Beach
PETER CALTHORPE, AIA	Principal, Calthorpe Associates San Francisco
BRIAN CEARNAL, AIA	Principal, Brian Cearnal Associates Santa Barbara
ELIZABETH DEAKIN	President, Deakin/Harvey/Skabardonis Professor, Department of City and Regional Planning University of California, Berkeley
MICHAEL DEAR	Professor, Departments of Geography and Urban and Regional Planning University of Southern California, Los Angeles
LEONARD J. DUHL, M.D.	Professor, Departments of Public Health and City and Regional Planning University of California, Berkeley
JOHN L. FIELD, FAIA	Principal, Field Paoli Architects San Francisco
CYNTHIA HAMILTON	Associate Professor, Pan African Studies California State University, Los Angeles
IRA MICHAEL HEYMAN	Professor, School of Law and Department of City and Regional Planning Former Chancellor University of California, Berkeley
FRANK E. HOTCHKISS, AIA, AICP	Consultant, Planning Center Newport Beach
THOMAS LOLLINI, AIA	Principal, Urban Arts Collaborative San Rafael
ERIC H. MONKKONEN	Professor, Department of History University of California, Los Angeles
MANUEL E. PEREZ, AIA	Principal, Manuel E. Perez, AIA Long Beach
STEPHANIE PINCETL	Lecturer, Urban Planning Program Graduate School of Architecture and Urban Planning University of California, Los Angeles
SIGRID MILLER POLLIN, AIA	Principal, Miller Pollin Architecture Riverside Associate Professor, Department of Architecture California State Polytechnic University, Pomona
ARTHUR E. STAMPS, Ph.D., AIA	Architect, Researcher, Institute of Environmental Quality San Francisco
ALLYNE WINDERMAN, AIA	Architect, Community Redevelopment Agency Los Angeles